BYZANTINE MONUMENTS *of* ISTANBUL

This is the story of the Byzantine monuments of Istanbul, the city known in the medieval period as Constantinople and in classical antiquity as Byzantium. Constantinople was the capital of the Byzantine Empire from 330 until 1453 and was renowned for the beauty and grandeur of its churches and palaces. The extant Byzantine monuments of Istanbul include more than twenty churches, most notably Hagia Sophia, as well as the remains of the land and sea walls, the Hippodrome, imperial palaces, commemorative columns, reservoirs and cisterns, an aqueduct, a triumphal archway, and a fortified port. They are described here in chronological order and in the context of their times, through the political, religious, social, economic, intellectual, and artistic developments in the dynasties that came to power during the turbulent Byzantine age. A major part of the architectural and artistic heritage of Byzantium, these monuments also serve as a link between the world of classical antiquity and the new epochs of early modern Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

John Freely is professor of Physics at the University of the Bosphorus in Istanbul. He is distinguished author and coauthor of more than thirty books on travel, including the renowned *Strolling through Istanbul* and, more recently, *Istanbul, the Imperial City* and *Inside the Seraglio.*

Ahmet S. Çakmak is professor emeritus in the Department of Civil Engineering and Operations Research at Princeton University. He has written extensively on aspects of Byzantine architecture and served as coeditor of *Hagia Sophia: From the Age of Justinian to the Present.*

BYZANTINE MONUMENTS of ISTANBUL

John Freely
University of the Bosphorus

Ahmet S. Çakmak
Princeton University

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

LH 65440 F854

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011–4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© John Freely and Ahmet S. Çakmak 2004

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2004

Printed in the United States of America

Typeface Bembo 11/13.5 pt. System QuarkXPress 4.1 [TB]

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

ISBN 0 521 77257 5 hardback

Universität München
Bibliothek des
Historicums
Inv. 2005/463





IN MEMORY OF HILARY SUMNER-BOYD

COLLEAGUE AND TEACHER



CONTENTS

	List of Illustrations	*page* IX
	Acknowledgments	XVII
	INTRODUCTION	1
1	BYZANTIUM	3
2	THE CITY OF CONSTANTINE	23
3	THE IMPERIAL CAPITAL	36
4	THE LATE ROMAN CITY	61
5	THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN	80
6	HAGIA SOPHIA	90
7	JUSTINIAN'S OTHER BUILDINGS	129
8	THE MEDIEVAL CITY	154
9	THE MACEDONIAN DYNASTY	169
10	THE COMNENUS DYNASTY	202
11	THE LATIN OCCUPATION	245
12	THE PALAEOLOGUS DYNASTY	251
13	THE FALL OF BYZANTIUM	293
	Appendix I: List of Byzantine Emperors	299
	Appendix II: Glossary	301
	Appendix III: Sources of Plans and Photographs	306
	Notes	311
	Bibliography	315
	Index	319



ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

		page
1a	The Byzantine World (after Rodley)	4
1b	Byzantium and its surroundings (after Maclagan)	4
2	Byzantine Constantinople, showing Byzantine sites and streets of the modern city (after Freely)	5
3	Topographic map of Constantinople (from Janin)	6
4	Hypothetical plan of the shoreline of Constantinople in the fourth century A.D. (from Mango)	7
5	Map of ancient Byzantium (from Janin)	8
6	The Hippodrome in the view of Constantinople by Panvinius, 1480 (from Müller-Weiner)	13
7	The southern end of the Hippodrome	14
8	Plan of the southern end of the Hippodrome (from Müller-Weiner)	15
9	The Goths Column	20
10	Tombstone from ancient Byzantium in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum	21
11	The dynasty of Constantine I, 285–363	24
12	The Aqueduct of Valens	39
13	The dynasty of Theodosius I, 379–457	41
14	The Serpent Column and the Egyptian Obelisk at the Hippodrome	42
15	Plan and reconstruction of the triumphal arch in the Forum of Theodosius I (from Müller-Weiner)	44
16	Fragments of the Arch of Theodosius I	45
17	The Golden Gate	46
18	Plan of the Golden Gate (from Bardill)	46
19	Plan of the Theodosian City (from Mango)	50
20	Plan of the land walls (from Van Millingen)	51
21	Cross-section of the Theodosian Walls (from Van Millingen)	52

22 The Theodosian Walls 52
23 The Gate of Rhegium (Yenimevlevihane Kapı) 53
24 Plan of the Martyrium of SS. Carpus and Papylus (from the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul) 57
25 Plan of the Palaces of Antiochus and Lausus and of the Martyrium of St. Euphemia (from Müller-Weiner) 58
26 Ruins of the Church of the Theotokos in Chalkoprateia 62
27 Column of Marcian (Bartlett print, *c.* 1838) 64
28 The dynasty of Leo I, 457–518 65
29 St. John of Studius (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 66
30 Plan of St. John of Studius (after Van Millingen) 68
31 Porch of St. John of Studius 69
32 Nave of St. John of Studius 70
33 The Palace of Blachernai, view from outside the city walls 73
34 Substructure of the Palace of Blachernai 74
35 St. Polyeuctus, a restored plan of the church (from Harrison) 77
36 The dynasty of Justin I (518–578) 81
37 Mosaic in Hagia Sophia, showing the Virgin and Christ child flanked by the emperors Constantine the Great (right), who is presenting a model of the city of Constantinople, and Justinian (left), who is offering a model of Hagia Sophia 83
38 The Empire of Justinian I, *c.* 565 (from Ostrogorsky) 89
39 Hagia Sophia, view from the south 91
40 Plan of Hagia Sophia (from Müller-Weiner) 92
41 Hagia Sophia, sections W-E and N-S (from Van Nice) 93
42 Hagia Sophia, the narthex, looking north 100
43 Hagia Sophia, mosaic over the Imperial Gate in the narthex, showing Leo VI kneeling before Christ 103
44 Hagia Sophia, view from the Vestibule of the Warriors into the narthex; mosaic of the Virgin and Christ child with Constantine and Justinian over the door 104
45 Hagia Sophia, view of the nave from the west gallery 106
46 Hagia Sophia, the dome, the east semidome, and the tympana 107
47 Hagia Sophia, the dome and its four supporting arches, with the mosaics of seraphim or cherubim in the pendentives 107
48 Hagia Sophia, the colonnades and tympanum on the south side of the nave 108
49 Hagia Sophia, lower colonnade on the north side of the nave 109
50 Hagia Sophia, upper colonnade on the south side of the nave 110
51 Hagia Sophia, southwest pier and exedra 111
52 Hagia Sophia, south aisle, looking west 112
53 Hagia Sophia, southwest exedra 113
54 Hagia Sophia, north gallery, looking east 121
55 Hagia Sophia, upper colonnade of the northwest exedra 122

56 Hagia Sophia, southwest corner of the gallery, looking toward the Gates of Heaven and Hell 123
57 SS. Sergius and Bacchus (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 130
58 Plan of SS. Sergius and Bacchus (after Sanpaolesi) 131
59 SS. Sergius and Bacchus, view of nave through western colonnade 132
60 SS. Sergius and Bacchus, apse and eastern exedra 133
61 SS. Sergius and Bacchus, view toward southwest exedra 133
62 SS. Sergius and Bacchus, gallery and dome, looking south 134
63 Hagia Eirene, view from the south 137
64 Plan of Hagia Eirene (after George) 138
65 Hagia Eirene, nave and apse with synthronon 139
66 Hagia Eirene, dome with supporting arches and pendentives 140
67 Hagia Eirene, apse with mosaic cross 142
68 Hagia Eirene, northern side of nave, showing colonnade, gallery, and tympanum 143
69 Hagia Eirene, west end of nave, with Turkish stairway leading to galleries 144
70 The Basilica Cistern 147
71 Plan of Basilica Cistern (after Müller-Weiner) 149
72 Basilica Cistern, inverted Gorgon head supporting column base 150
73 The Boukoleon Palace 152
74 The dynasty of Heraclius, 610–711 (from Ostrogorsky) 156
75 The Wall of Heraclius 157
76 The Syrian dynasty, 717–802 (from Ostrogorsky) 160
77 The Wall of Leo V. 162
78 The Amorian Dynasty, 820–867 (from Ostrogorsky) 163
79 The Marmara sea walls 165
80 Gate in the sea walls 166
81 The Macedonian dynasty, 867–1056 (from Ostrogorsky) 170
82 The Empire of Basil II, *c.* 1025 (from Ostrogorsky) 170
83 Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (Church of SS. Peter and Mark) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 172
84 Plan and section of Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (from Ousterhout, based on Ebersolt and Thiers) 173
85 Fenari Isa Camii (Church of the Theotokos tou Libos) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 174
86 Plan of Fenari Isa Camii (from van Miligam) 175
87 Fenari Isa Camii, apse of north church 177
88 Fenari Isa Camii, apse of south church 179
89 Church of the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 180
90 Plan (partly reconstructed) of the Myrelaion (from Ousterhout, based on Striker) 181

91 The Myrelaion, perspective section reconstruction facing northeast (from Striker) 182
92 The Myrelaion, plan of Rotunda complex and church (from Striker) 185
93 The Wall of Nicephorus II Phocas (from Mango) 188
94 Plan of foundations and substructures in the Mangana region (from Müller-Weiner) 197
95 The Monastery of Christ Philanthropos 198
96 The dynasty of the Ducas 1059–78 (from Ostrogorsky) 200
97 The dynasty of the Comneni 1081–1185 (from Ostrogorsky) 203
98 The Byzantine Empire under the Comneni (from Ostrogorsky) 203
99 The Church of Christ Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii) (print by Paspates, *c.* 1876) 204
100 Plan and section of Christ Pantepoptes (from Van Millingen) 205
101 Christ Pantepoptes, view from the door leading from the exonarthex to the narthex 206
102 Christ Pantepoptes, the nave 207
103 Kilise Camii (Church of St. Theodore) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 208
104 Plan of Kilise Camii (from Ousterhout, after Van Millingen) 209
105 Kilise Camii, narthex, looking north 210
106 The Church of the Pantokrator (Zeyrek Camii) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 212
107 Plan of the Pantokrator (from Ousterhout) 213
108 The Pantokrator, nave of the south church 216
109 The Pantokrator, dome of the south church 217
110 The Pantokrator, dome of the north church 218
111 The Pantokrator, domes of the central funerary chapel 219
112 Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi 221
113 Gül Camii (Church of St. Theodosia) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 222
114 Plan of Gül Camii (from Schafer) 224
115 Gül Camii, the nave 225
116 Gül Camii, south side of the nave and gallery 226
117 Ayakapı Church 227
118 Church of St. John in Trullo (Hirami Ahmet Paşa Camii) 228
119 Plan and section of St. John in Trullo (from Van Millingen) 229
120 St. John in Trullo, nave and apse 230
121 The Wall of Manuel I Comnenus 231
122 The dynasty of the Angeli, 1185–1204 (from Ostrogorsky) 234
123 Kalenderhane Camii (Church of the Kyriotissa) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 235
124 Kalenderhane Camii, summary chronological plan (from Striker and Kuban) 236
125 Plan of Kalenderhane Camii (from Striker and Kuban) 238
126 Kalenderhane Camii, dome, supporting arches, and pendentives 239
127 Kalenderhane Camii, rear of nave 240

128 Kalenderhane Camii, nave, looking southeast 241
129 The Age of Latin Rule in Constantinople, 1204–61 (from Ostrogorsky) 248
130 The dynasty of Lascaris, 1204–61 (from Ostrogorsky) 249
131 The Palaeologan dynasty, 1261–1453 (from Ostrogorsky) 252
132 The collapse of the Byzantine Empire in the fourteenth century (from Ostrogorsky) 253
133 The Late Byzantine palace known as Tekfursarayı 254
134 Plan of Tekfursarayı and adjacent land walls (from Müller-Weiner, after Meyer-Plath and Schneider) 255
135 The Panagia Mouchliotissa (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 256
136 Plan of the Panagia Mouchliotissa (from Van Millingen) 257
137 Panagia Mouchliotissa, nave and iconostasis 258
138 Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii (Church of St. Andrew in Krisei) 259
139 Plan of Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii (from Rodley, after Van Millingen) 260
140 Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii, columns on west side of central area of nave 262
141 Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii, southern bay of nave with mihrap and mimber 263
142 Fethiye Camii (Church of the Theotokos Pammakaristos) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 264
143 Plan of Fethiye Camii (from Mango and Hawkins) 265
144 Fethiye Camii, dome of the parekklesion and its mosaics 268
145 Kariye Camii (Church of Christ in Chora) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 269
146 Plan of Kariye Camii (from Ousterhout) 272
147 Kariye Camii, mosaic of the Dormition of the Virgin in the nave 276
148 Kariye Camii, fresco of the Anastasis in the conch of the apse of the parekklesion 277
149 Kariye Camii, tomb of Michael Tornikes in the south wall of the parekklesion 278
150 Sinan Paşa Mescidi (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 284
151 Sinan Paşa Mescidi 285
152 Kefeli Mescidi (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 286
153 Plan of Kefeli Mescidi (from Van Millingen) 286
154 Kefeli Mescidi, looking north toward the apse 287
155 Boğdan Sarayı (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 288
156 Manastir Mescidi (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 289
157 Plan and section of Manastır Mescidi (from Van Millingen) 289
158 Manastır Mescidi, columns at the rear of the nave 290
159 Sancaktar Mescidi (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 291
160 Plan of Sancaktar Mescidi (from Pasadaios) 291
161 Isa Kapı Mescidi, (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876) 292
162 Isa Kapı Mescidi 292

PLATES

Plates I through XVII appear between pages 76–77

I The Column of Constantine
II Sancaktar Mescidi
III Sancaktar Mescidi, mihrap and mimber in the southeast bay
IV Base of the Egyptian Obelisk, showing Theodosius I between his sons Honorius and Arcadius
V Fragments of the Theodosian church of Hagia Sophia
VI Hagia Sophia, from the south
VII The dome of Hagia Sophia, from the southwest
VIII Interior of Hagia Sophia, looking east toward the nave
IX Column capital in Hagia Sophia, with imperial monogram of Justinian and Theodora
X Mosaic of Virgin and Christ-Child in the apse of Hagia Sophia
XI Mosaic of John II Comnenus and his wife Eirene in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia
XII Deesis mosaic in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia
XIII Sections of the dome of Hagia Sophia
XIV The dome of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, looking toward the Sea of Marmara
XV SS. Sergius and Bacchus, looking toward the nave
XVI Hagia Eirene, from the southeast

Plates XVIII through XXXIII appear between pages 172–173

XVII Hagia Eirene, the main dome and the apse
XVIII The Basilica Cistern
XIX Mosaic in the Great Palace
XX Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (Church of SS. Peter and Mark)
XXI Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, the nave, looking toward the apse
XXII Fenari Isa Camii (Church of the Theotokos tou Libos)
XXIII Fenari Isa Camii, dome of the south church
XXIV Church of the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii)
XXV Church of the Myrelaion, dome and apse
XXVI Church of the Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii)
XXVII Church of the Pantepoptes, dome and apse
XXVIII Kilise Camii (Church of St. Theodore)
XXIX Kilise Camii, dome and west end of nave
XXX Church of the Pantokrator (Zeyrek Camii)
XXXI Church of the Pantokrator, south church, dome and rear of nave
XXXII Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi
XXXIII Gül Camii (Church of St. Theodosia)

Plates XXXIV through LI appear between pages 268–269

XXXIV Gül Camii, dome and supporting piers, arches and pendentives

XXXV Church of St. John in Trullo (Hirami Ahmet Paşa Camii), looking toward the nave
XXXVI Kalenderhane Camii (Church of the Kyriotissa)
XXXVII Kalenderhane Camii, nave, looking toward the apse
XXXVIII The Late Byzantine palace known as Tekfursarayı
XXXIX Church of the Panagia Mouchliotissa
XL Church of the Panagia Mouchliotissa, the nave
XLI Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii (Church of St. Andrew in Krisei), looking south toward the mihrap from under the dome
XLII Fethiye Camii (Church of the Pammakaristos), the parekklesion
XLIII Fethiye Camii, nave and apse of the parekklesion, with mosaic of Christ
XLIV Fethiye Camii, dome and upper zone of the parekklesion
XLV Fethiye Camii, mosaic of Christ in the dome of the parekklesion
XLVI Kariye Camii (Church of Christ in Chora)
XLVII Kariye Camii, detail of donor mosaic showing Theodore Metochites, in the lunette over the door between the inner narthex and the nave
XLVIII Kariye Camii, fourth bay from north in the inner narthex, mosaics of Deesis in the east wall and of Christ and his ancestors in the dome
XLIX Kariye Camii, mosaic of Christ and his ancestors in the dome of the fourth bay from the north in the inner narthex
L Kariye Camii, mosaic of the Virgin Hodegitria in the nave
LI Manastir Mescit



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are most grateful to Selçuk Altun and the Yapı Kredı Bank for making a generous grant toward the cost of illustrating this book. We thank the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, particularly Dr. Axel Filges and Nurhan Özgenler, for allowing us to use photographs from their archives, and we also thank Tahsin Aydoğmuş and Anthony E. Baker for supplying the other photographs used as illustrations. In addition, we wish to thank Emin Saatçi for the invaluable assistance he provided in arranging for our photographic work and Tansel Kaya and Sinan Ozay for their help in computer graphics.

During our research, we benefitted from the assistance of Anthony Greenwood, director of the Istanbul branch of the American Research Institute in Turkey, and Gün Kut, head of the library at Boğaziçi University. The senior author is grateful to the administration of Boğaziçi University (University of the Bosphorus) for a leave of absence to work on this book, particularly to the rector, Sabih Tansal; the dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Ayşe Soysal; and the chairman of the Physics Department, Ömer Oğuz. He is also thankful for enlightening discussions on Byzantine architecture with Robert Ousterhout and Cecil L. Striker. The junior author learned much from Slobodan Ćurčić and Robert Mark, his colleagues at Princeton University, and he also benefitted from discussions with his colleagues at the Kandilli Observatory in Istanbul, particularly Ahmet Işıkara, the director, and Mustafa Erdik, chair of the Department of Earthquake Engineering. He is also grateful for the encouragement he received from Üstün Ergüder, former rector of Boğaziçi University. Both authors would like to express their thanks to Beatrice Rehl, senior editor at Cambridge University Press, for her help in preparing our manuscript for publication. We are very grateful to Robert Ousterhout for his constructive criticism of the manuscript, though he is in no way responsible for the deficiencies that remain. Both of us also owe a great debt to the late Hilary Sumner-Boyd, professor at Robert College in Istanbul and Boğaziçi University, which can only be partially repaid by the dedication of our book to him.

BYZANTINE MONUMENTS *of* ISTANBUL



Introduction

This is the story of the Byzantine monuments of Istanbul, the city known to the Greeks as Constantinople, the ancient Byzantium. Constantinople was, for more than a thousand years, capital of the Byzantine Empire, which in its earlier period, from the fourth to the sixth century, was synonomous with the Roman Empire. During those centuries, the religion of the empire changed from pagan to Christian and its language from Latin to Greek, giving rise to the culture that in later times was called Byzantine, from the ancient name of its capital. As the great churchman Gennadius was to say in the mid-fifteenth century, when the empire had come to an end, "Though I am a Hellene by speech yet I would never say that I was a Hellene, for I do not believe as Hellenes believe. I should like to take my name from my faith, and if anyone asks me what I am, I answer, 'A Christian.' Though my father dwelt in Thessaly, I do not call myself a Thessalian, but a Byzantine, for I am of Byzantium."[1]

The surviving Byzantine monuments of Istanbul include more than a score of churches, most notably Hagia Sophia. Other extant monuments include the great land walls of the city and fragments of its sea walls; the remains of two or three palaces; a fortified port; three commemorative columns and the base of a fourth; two huge subterranean cisterns and several smaller ones; three enormous reservoirs; an aqueduct; a number of fragmentary ruins; and part of the Hippodrome, the city's oldest monument and the only one that can surely be assigned to ancient Byzantium. Other remnants are preserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, particularly in the galleries devoted to *Istanbul through the Ages* and *Byzantium and Its Neighbors.* Still more are preserved on a deeper level in the city itself, for the streets and squares of Istanbul are built on those of medieval Constantinople and even, in some cases, of ancient Byzantium.

The monuments are described in chronological order as the history of the city unfolds. The first chapter is devoted to the ancient city of Byzantium, and the second describes the events that led Constantine the Great to shift his capital from Rome to Byzantium, which he rebuilt to create the new city of Constantinople in A.D. 330. The next five chapters follow the development of the city during the late Roman era, which can be said to end with the reign of Justinian I (r. 527–65), when the empire reached its peak. Subsequent chapters give an

account of the empire's sharp decline in the medieval era, its slow recovery during the rule of the Macedonian and Comnenus dynasties, its near downfall in the Latin occupation of 1204–61, and the final two centuries of Byzantine Constantinople under the Palaeologus emperors, when Byzantium flourished in a last renaissance before its fall to the Ottoman Turks under Sultan Mehmet II in 1453.

The ups and downs of the empire are reflected in the architectural history of the city, particulary that of its churches. The oldest, St. John of Studius, is a classical Roman basilica, the type used for the first purpose-built churches in the fourth and fifth centuries. The churches of Justinian's reign – SS. Sergius and Bacchus, Hagia Sophia, and Hagia Eirene – belong to an extraordinary period of prolific and fruitful experiment in architectural forms, as if the architects were searching for new modes of expression for a new age. The decline of the empire in the medieval era is evidenced by an apparent total absence of building activity, for there are no extant churches in the city erected in the three centuries between the reigns of Justinian and Basil I (r. 867–86), founder of the Macedonian dynasty. That was also the time of the iconoclastic movement, when virtually all of the religious images in the churches of the city were destroyed. Iconoclasm ended a quarter of a century before the rise of the Macedonian dynasty, the beginning of the so-called Middle Byzantine period, when new churches were built and decorated with figurative mosaics. The churches of this period, including the years of the Comnenus dynasty, were smaller than those of earlier times and of a new type, the so-called cross-domed church. Such churches were also built in the Palaeologan revival after the Latin occupation. The dating of churches in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods is often difficult, particularly since most of them have been rebuilt on several occasions, though structures of the Palaeologan era can usually be distinguished by their highly decorative stonework. The Palaeologan era also produced the extraordinary mosaics and frescoes in the Church of Christ in Chora, the current Kariye Camii museum, the supreme achievement of the last Byzantine renaissance.

Throughout the book, the monuments of the city are described in the context of their times – as part of the interrelated political, religious, social, economic, intellectual, and artistic developments that occurred during the principal dynasties that came to power over the long turbulent history of the Byzantine Empire. The monuments that they founded stand today as a major part of the architectural and artistic heritage of Byzantium, a link between the ancient Graeco-Roman world and the new worlds of Renaissance Europe and the Ottoman Empire.



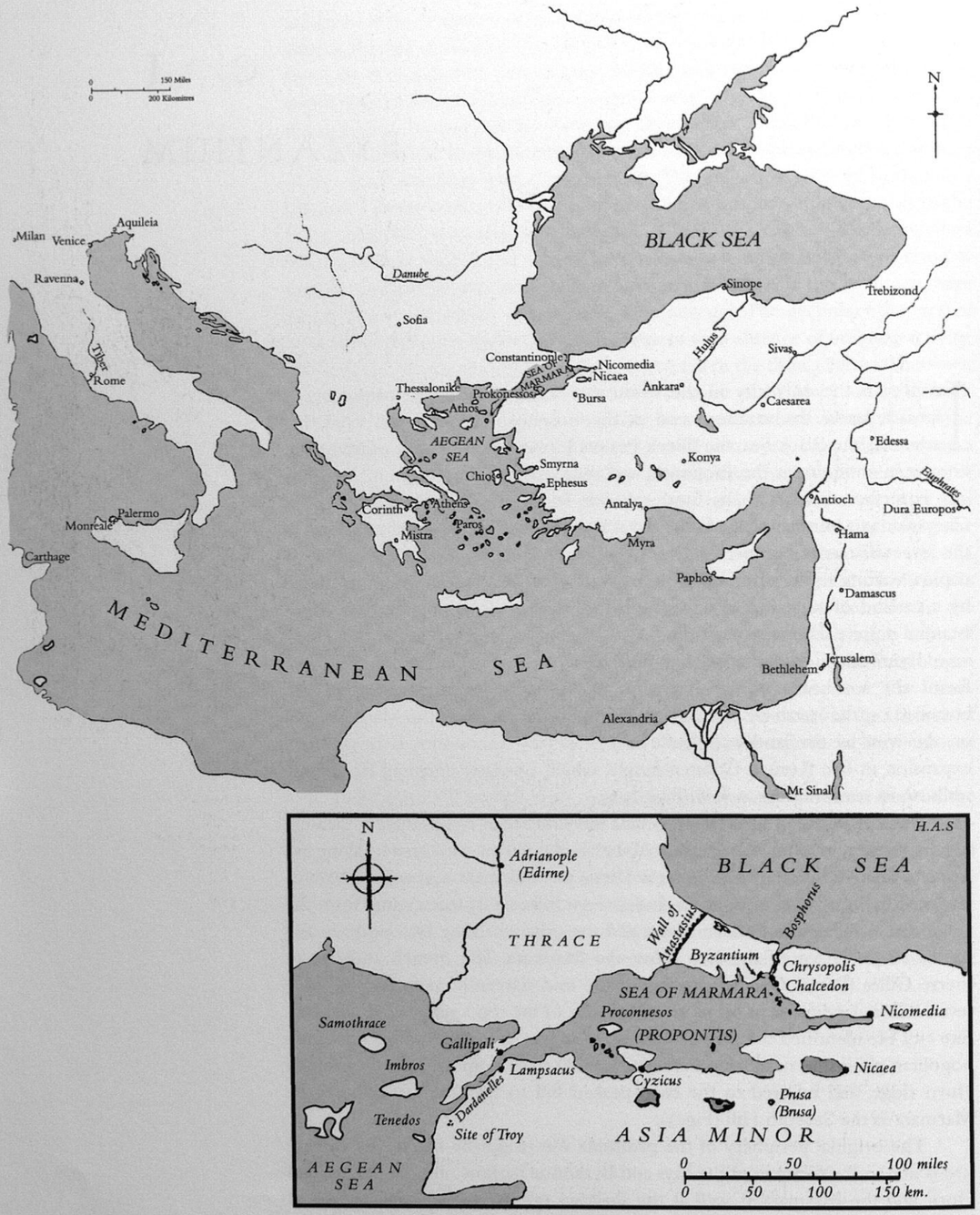
~ I
Byzantium

Istanbul is the only city in the world that stands astride two continents. It spreads across the southern end of the Bosphorus, the historic strait that connects the Black Sea, the Greek Pontus Euxinus, and the Sea of Marmara, known in antiquity as the Propontis, and thus separates Europe from Asia. The city is further divided on its European side by the Golden Horn, the Greek Chrysokeras, a scimitar-shaped inlet fed at its upper end by two streams known as the Sweet Waters of Europe, the Greek Cydaros and Barbyzes. The historian Procopius, writing in the mid-sixth century A.D., described the city as "surrounded by a garland of waters,"[1] an encomium that could still be applied to modern Istanbul despite the ravages of time.

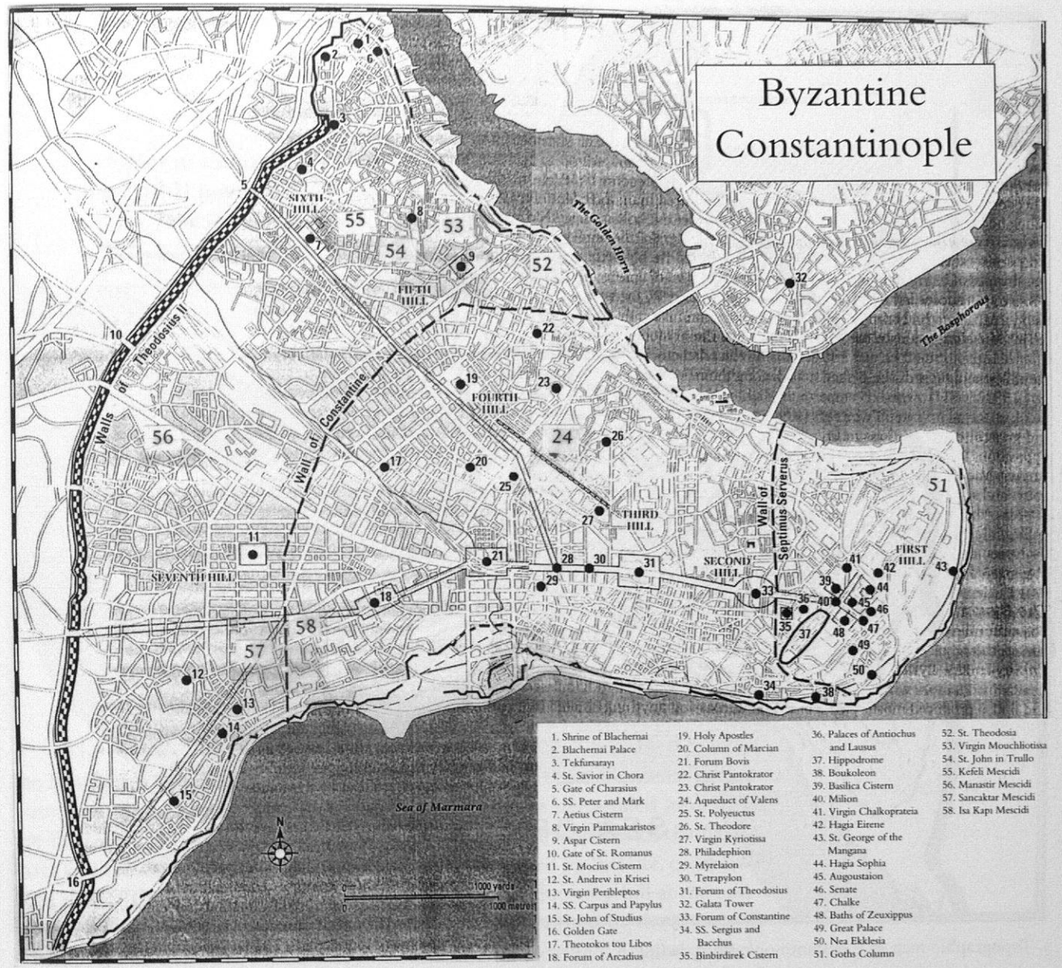
Byzantine Constantinople was built on a roughly triangular peninsula that forms the southeasternmost extension of Europe. The Byzantine city was bounded on the north by the Golden Horn, on the south by the Marmara, and on the west by the land walls built in A.D. 447 by Theodosius II in the final expansion of late Roman Constantinople, which was later enclosed by defense walls on its seaward sides as well (Figs. 1, 2).

The periphery of the defense circuit was more than 20 kilometers, measuring 5.3 kilometers along the sea walls of the Golden Horn, 7 kilometers along the Theodosian Walls, and 20 kilometers along the Marmara sea walls. The area enclosed by the Byzantine walls includes seven hills, six of them rising from the ridge that parallels the Golden Horn and the other forming two peaks in the southwestern sector of the city above the Marmara. The French antiquarian Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius), writing in the mid-sixteenth century, used these seven hills as landmarks in his pioneering study of the topography of the Byzantine city. He identified the First Hill as the eminence at the tip of the Constantinopolitan peninsula, numbered the next five hills in succession along the Golden Horn ridge, and referred to the twin-peaked hill to the southwest above the Marmara as the Seventh Hill (Fig. 3).

The original periphery of the peninsula was originally smaller. Its current size is due to the filling in of the bays and Byzantine harbors on both the Golden Horn and the Marmara as well as the shallows outside the sea walls. As Cyril Mango has shown, there were originally two shallow but deeply indented bays,



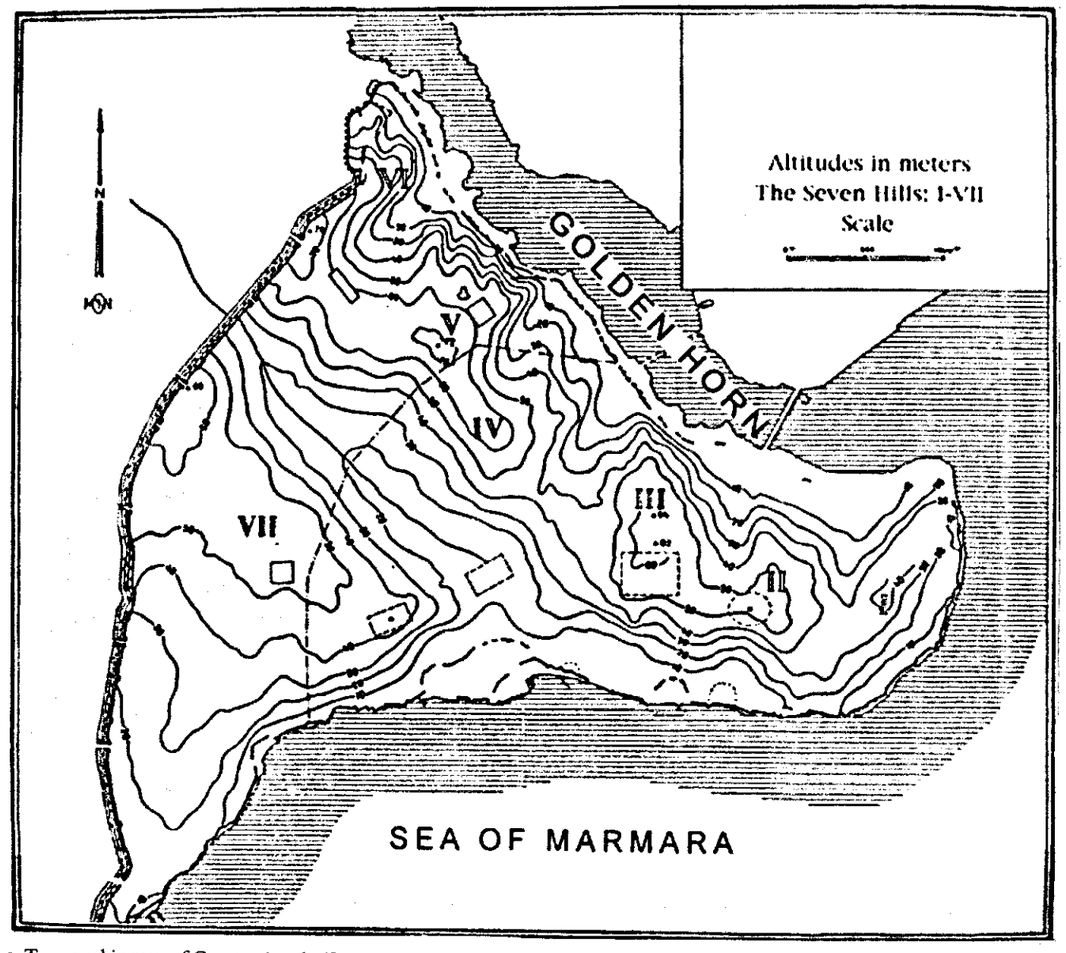
1a (top). The Byzantine World (after Rodley). 1b (bottom). Byzantium and its surroundings (after Maclagan)



2. Byzantine Constantinople, showing Byzantine sites and the main streets of the modern city (after Freely)

one on the Golden Horn between the Third and Fourth Hills, and the other due south on the Marmara, about a kilometer inside the Theodosian walls. An isthmus about a kilometer wide separated the inner ends of the two bays, linking the eastern and western parts of the bifurcated peninsula. Both bays were eventually filled in, probably beginning with the founding of Constantinople by Constantine the Great in A.D. 330.

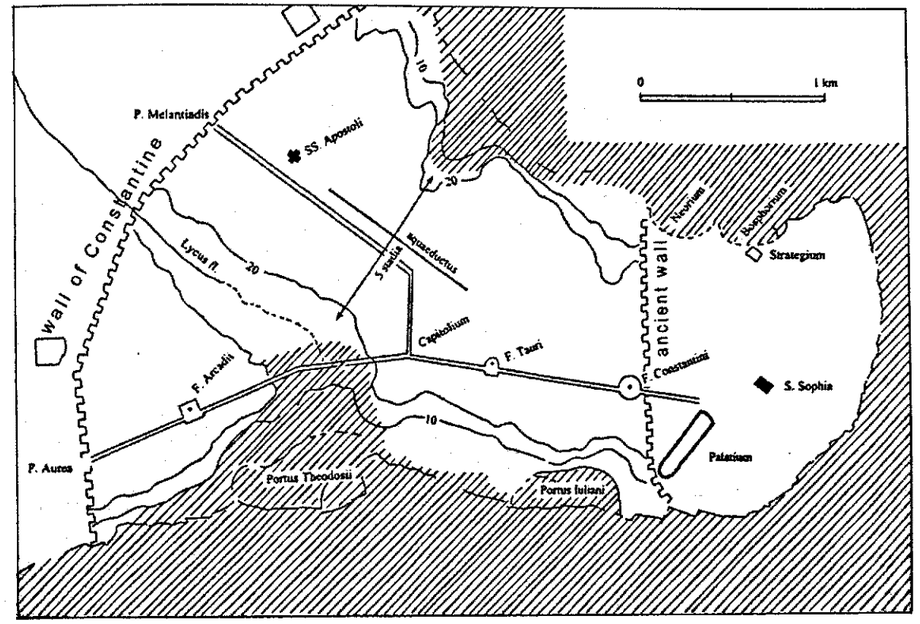
A stream known as the Lycus, now canalized beneath the streets of Istanbul, entered the city from the west and flowed in the valley that separates the Seventh Hill from the Fifth and Sixth Hills, finally emptying into the bay that indented the Marmara shore before it was filled in beginning in the late Roman era (Fig. 4).



3. Topographic map of Constantinople (from Janin)

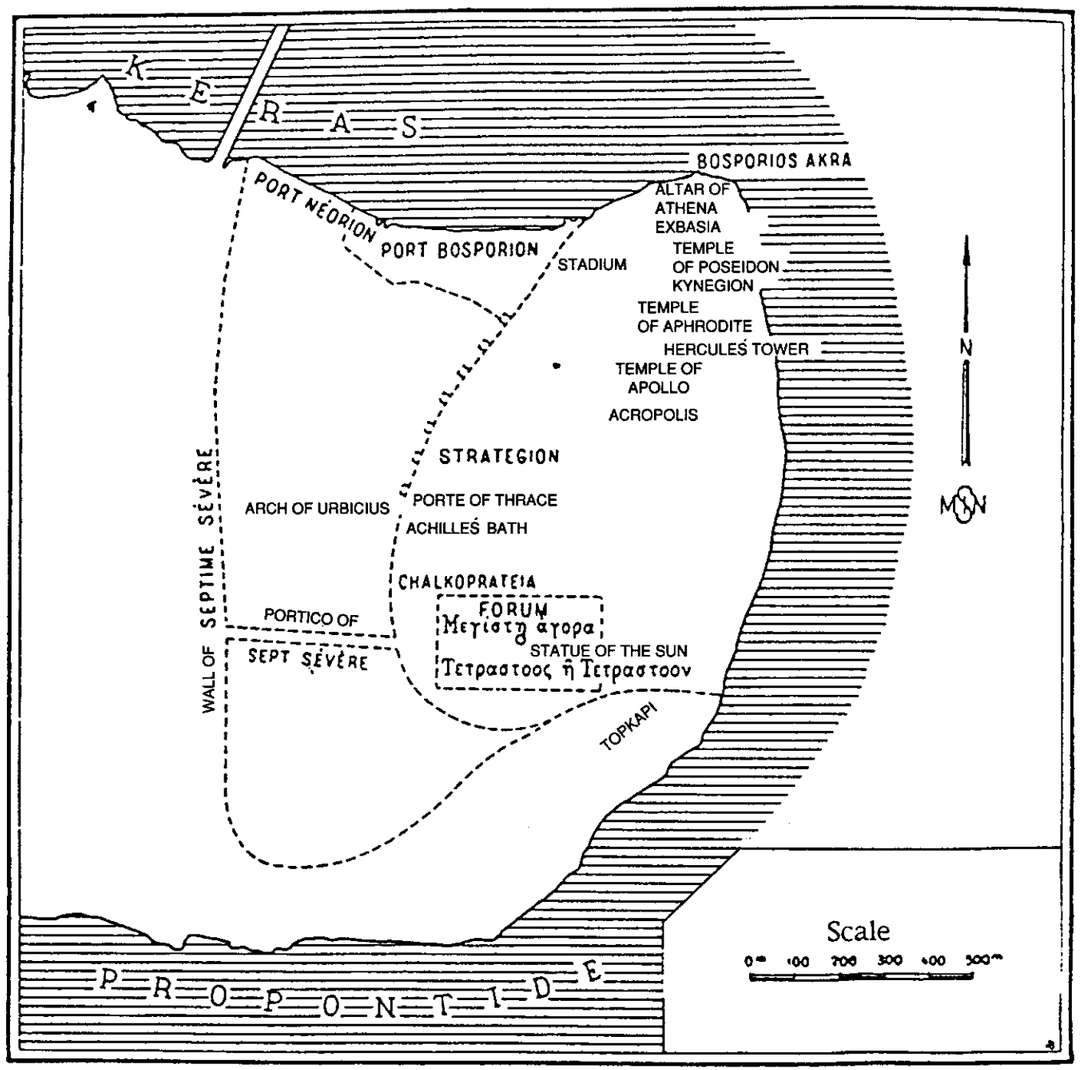
The city was originally known to the Greeks as Byzantion, whose Latin form, Byzantium, is now more widely used. Byzantium was named for its legendary founder, Byzas the Megarian, who is supposed to have established a Greek colony here c. 660 B.C. The Megarians had seventeen years earlier established a colony at Chalcedon, today's Kadıköy, on the Asian shore of the Marmara just beyond the mouth of the Bosphorus.

According to tradition, before Byzas set out on his expedition, he consulted the Delphic oracle, who advised him to settle "opposite the land of the blind." The meaning of this, according to Herodotus, quoting the Persian general Megabazas, was that "the men of Chalcedon must have been blind at the time, for if they had any eyes, they would not have chosen an inferior site when a much finer one [that of Byzantium] lay ready to hand."[2]



4. Hypothetical plan of the shoreline of Constantinople in the fourth century A.D. (from Mango)

The original site of Byzantium was on the First Hill, where the waters of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn merge and flow into the Marmara. Byzantium was laid out with its acropolis, or upper city, on the steep-sided summit of the First Hill and with its lower town extending along the shores of the Maramara and the Golden Horn. One of the advantages offered by this site, compared with that of Chalcedon, was its greater defensibility, for the steep hill at the confluence of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn was protected by the sea on all sides except to the west, where a defense wall could be erected. Another advantage was that the Golden Horn provided a superb natural harbor, shielded from storms by the heights that enclosed it on all sides except where it opens into the Bosphorus, and there the cape known in antiquity as the Promentorium Bosphorium curves around to protect the inner port. This promontory also acts as a barrier to divert the shoals of mackerel that swim down the Bosphorus from the Black Sea, forcing them into the port and creating an abundant fishery that became one of the principal sources of income for the people of Byzantium (Fig. 5). Other important sources of income were the tolls and harbor fees paid by the ships that passed through the strait, for Byzantium controlled the Bosphorus from the beginning of its history, and this was the principal reason for its subsequent rise to greatness. Gilles, after describing the topography of the ancient city, wrote that "the Bosphorus is the first creator of Byzantium, greater and more important than Byzas."[3]



5. Map of ancient Byzantium (from Janin)

Byzantium and the other Greek cities in Asia Minor and eastern Thrace came under Persian rule soon after 546 B.C., when Cyrus the Great captured Sardis and ended the history of the Lydian kingdom. Cyrus and his successors, the first three being Cambyses II, Darius, and Xerxes, organized the Persian kingdom into twenty provinces called satrapies, each ruled by a governor called a satrap. The Greek cities had governors appointed by the satraps, from among their own citizens. These governors, under the aegis of Persia, dispensed with democratic assemblies and ruled as dictators (or tyrants, as the Greeks called them). Byzantium was

part of the satrapy governed from Daskylium, and its earliest known tyrant is identified by Herodotus as Ariston, who was in control of the city when Darius set out on his great expedition against the Scythians in 513.

The following year Darius reached the Bosphorus, where he had the Greek engineer Mandrocles of Samos build a bridge of boats across the strait at its narrowest point. Herodotus describes this incident in Book IV of the *Histories,* in which Byzantium makes its first appearance in recorded history.

During the remaining years of the sixth century B.C., Byzantium and the other Greek cities in the east remained under Persian rule. Then in 499 the Ionian cities of westernmost Asia Minor revolted against the Persians under the leadership of Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus. After some early successes, including the liberation of Byzantium and Chalcedon, the revolt was crushed in 494, after which the Persians destroyed Miletus and a number of other cities, including Byzantium.

Byzantium was apparently soon rebuilt under Persian rule, for when Xerxes invaded Greece in 481, the city contributed a hundred ships to his fleet, according to Herodotus. After the Persians were defeated at Plataea in 479 by the Greek allies under Pausanias, son of the Spartan king Cleombrotus, the survivors made their way home under the command of Artabazus, who had them ferried across the Bosphorus at Byzantium.

Byzantium was a *polis,* a city-state, its government usually democratic, though at times it was controlled by oligarchies and sometimes by tyrants. The center of government was the *bouleterion,* or council, and there was also an *ekklésia,* or popular assembly.

Theopompus of Chios writes of daily life in Byzantium in the latter half of the fourth century B.C., when the people of Chalcedon shared in the government of the *polis* and adopted the sybaritic ways of the Byzantines as well:

> The Byzantines had by this time long had a democratic government; also their city was situated at a trading-place, and their entire population spent their time in the market-place and by the water side; hence they had accustomed themselves to amours and drinking in the taverns. As for the Chalcedonians, before they all came to have a share with the Byzantines in the government, they devoted themselves increasingly to the better pursuits of life; but after they had once tasted of the democratic liberties of the Byzantines they sank utterly into corrupt luxury, and in their daily lives, from having been the most sober and restrained, they became wine-bibbers and spend-thrifts.[4]

Athenaeus of Naucratis cites the historian Phylarchus of Athens in telling of the dissolute ways of the Byzantines in his *Deipnosophistes,* or *Doctors at Dinner,* written in the mid-second century A.D.:

> Phylarchus, in the sixth book, says that the Byzantines are all besotted with wine and live in the wine-shop; they let out their marriage-chambers, along with their wives, to strangers, and cannot bear to hear the sound of a war-trumpet even in their dreams. Hence on one occasion,

when war was made on them, their general Leonides ordered tents for the wine-dealers to be set up inside the wall and at last they reluctantly stopped leaving the ranks.[5]

Byzantium produced one of the very few women poets of ancient Greece other than the immortal Sappho. She was the epic poetess Moero, who flourished *c.* 300 B.C. and whose best-known work, now lost, was entitled *Arai,* or *Curses.* Among the surviving fragments are lines written in praise of Dionysos and Aphrodite, the deities of wine and love, whose cults were evidently very popular in Byzantium:

Cluster, full of the juice of Dionysos,
Thou resteth under the roof of Aphrodite's chamber;
No longer shall the vine, thy mother,
Cast her lovely branch around thee,
And put above thy head her sweet leaves.[6]

Soon after the expulsion of Pausanias, Byzantium became a member of the Delian Confederacy, a maritime league of about 300 Greek city-states dominated by Athens. The annual tribute paid by the Byzantines was one of the highest in the league, a measure of Byzantium's wealth at the time.

When the Peloponnesian War began in 431 B.C., Byzantium was forced to join the Athenian League against Sparta. But then in 413, after the failure of the Athenian expedition against Syracuse, Byzantium and many other erstwhile allies of Athens defected to the Spartans.

The Athenians mounted a naval expedition against Byzantium and Chalcedon in 409. When the Athenians reached the Bosphorus, they built a fortified settlement on the Asian shore opposite Byzantium, naming it Chrysopolis, the City of Gold, now known in Turkish as Üsküdar. Using Chrysopolis as their base, the Athenians, led by Alcibiades, besieged and captured Byzantium, which was then forced to restore its alliance with Athens.

The Peloponnesian War came to an end in 404, when the Spartans decisively defeated the Athenians in a battle on the Hellespont. The Spartans then occupied Byzantium, though the Athenians again took the city in 390. Byzantium remained under the control of Athens until 355, when it emerged as an independent city-state at the end of a conflict known as the Social War.

Meanwhile Macedonia had risen as a new power under Philip II, who came to the throne in 359. The Byzantines at first were allies of Philip, but when he invaded Thrace in 341, leaving his son Alexander to serve as regent in Pella, they and their neighbors allied themselves with Athens and prepared their defenses against the Macedonians. Philip attacked Byzantium in 340, beginning a memorable siege in which the Byzantines were assisted by the Athenians. Philip finally broke off the siege in the spring of 339, whereupon the citizens of Byzantium erected a monument to the Athenians for having come to their aid.

Byzantium retained its independence throughout the Hellenistic period, which began with the death of Alexander the Great in 323. During that period



Byzantium expanded its possessions in both Thrace and Bithynia, the regions on the European and Asian sides of the Bosphorus, respectively. The city withstood an invasion by the Gauls beginning in 279 B.C., a siege by the Seleucid king Antiochus II in 246, and another siege by the Rhodians and the Bithynian king Prusias I in 220.

The Hellenistic period in western Asia Minor effectively ended in 129 B.C., when the Romans organized their province of Asia. Byzantium had by then entered into a formal alliance with Rome, in which it enjoyed the protection of the Romans and, though paying tribute, retained its status as a free city. The Romans linked the new province to Italy by means of the Via Egnatia, a high road that led from the Adriatic coast to Thrace and had its eastern terminus at Byzantium.

The tribute paid by Byzantium to Rome was abolished by a decree of the Senate in 53 B.C. Early in the reign of Augustus (r. 27 B.C.–A.D. 14), Byzantium was stripped of its possessions in Bithynia, though it retained its lands in Thrace, where it had long since absorbed the territory of its neighbor Selymbria (Silivri), forty-five miles west of the Bosphorus. Byzantium was formally incorporated into the Roman Empire in A.D. 73 by Vespasian (r. 69–79), and during the reign of Trajan (r. 98–117) it was made part of the province of Bithynia. Nevertheless Byzantium retained the status of a free city under the aegis of Rome.

The Romans built an aqueduct to carry water into the city during the reign of Hadrian (r. 117–38). This may be the structure known today as the Valens Aqueduct, but there is no definite evidence to support this supposition.

Byzantium retained its status as a free city until the last years of the second century. But then the city's privileged status was compromised when it became embroiled in a war of succession following the assassination of the emperor Pertinax in 193. Byzantium surrendered voluntarily to the forces of Pescennius Niger, one of the two contenders to the throne, the other being Septimius Severus. After suffering a defeat in Bithynia, Pescennius withdrew his forces from Byzantium and retreated across Asia Minor, leaving the city to face a siege by the army of Septimius. The siege lasted for nearly three years, during which time Pescennius was defeated by Septimius, who then forced Byzantium to surrender late in 195.

Septimius took savage revenge on the Byzantines, putting to death all of its surviving soldiers and magistrates, depriving the city of its independence, and making it a tributary of Perinthus. He also demolished the walls of Byzantium, which had withstood his army for three years, thinking thus to destroy the city by leaving it defenseless. The Greek historian Dio Cassius, writing in the mid-third century, describes the ruined walls in a haunting passage:

I myself saw the walls after they had fallen, looking as if they had been captured by some other people rather than the Romans. I had also seen them standing and even heard them "talk." I should explain that there were seven towers extending from the Thracian Gates to the sea, and if a person approached any of these but the first, it was silent, but if he shouted anything at that one or threw a stone against it, it not only echoed and "spoke" itself, but also caused the second to do the same, and thus the sound continued from one to the other through

> the whole seven, and they did not interrupt one another, but all in their proper turn, as each received the sound from the one before it, took up the echo and the voice and sent it on. Such were the walls of Byzantium.[7]

Byzantium remained in ruins for several years after it was sacked by Septimius. But then the emperor's son Caracalla persuaded the emperor that the strategic importance of the city was too great for it to be abandoned, and so in the first years of the second century, Septimius rebuilt Byzantium on a larger scale, at which time he may have surrounded it with a new circuit of defense walls.

The City Walls

The acropolis of Byzantium was undoubtedly fortified, as this was typical of ancient Greek cities. According to Hülya Tezcan, Byzantium's fortifications are represented by the later walls, partly Byzantine and partly Turkish, built against the steep sides of the plateau on which Topkapı Sarayı, the former imperial palace of the Ottoman sultans, stands at the eastern extremity of the First Hill. There was also an outer wall that extended along the shores of the Marmara and the Golden Horn below the First Hill, its landward side probably following much the same course as the fortifications that Sultan Mehmet II built in 1465 to enclose Topkapı Sarayı. It appears that a new circuit of walls enclosing a larger area was erected before Byzantium was destroyed by Septimius Severus. According to Dionysius Byzantius, the walls had a circumference of 35 stadia (c. 6.5 kilometers), they included the First Hill and part of the second, and they enclosed three ports on the Golden Horn. These fortifications may have been the walls that were destroyed in 196. Cyril Mango has suggested that Septimius did not erect a new circuit of walls when he rebuilt the city but that the Byzantines themselves restored the walls he had destroyed, probably in the mid-third century, when the Goths were threatening Byzantium. In any event, in the mid-third century the outer walls of the city probably began on the Golden Horn just below the present Galata Bridge and enclosed the two contiguous harbors known as the Neorion and the Bosphorion, the first of these being on the west and the second on the east. (A third harbor mentioned by Dionysius Byzantius was probably part of one of the other two.) The walls ascended from the Golden Horn to the summit of the Second Hill, then descended to the Sea of Marmara, curving around the southern end of the Hippodrome, an arena for chariot races that had been erected by Septimius when he rebuilt Byzantium.

The Portico of Septimius Severus

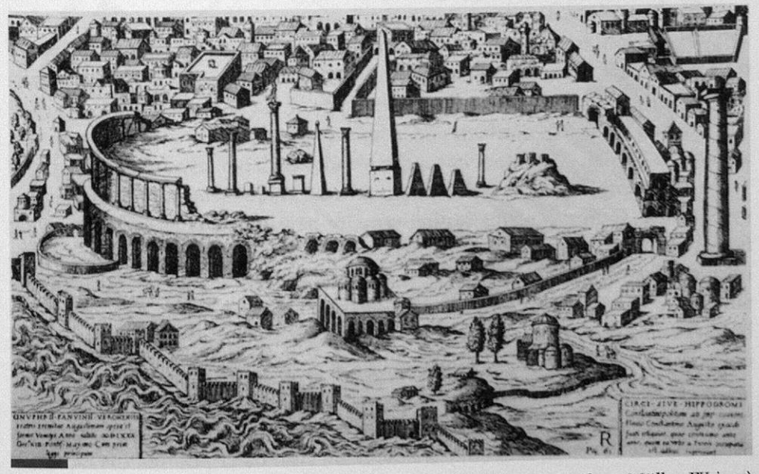
After Septimius extended the bounds of the city, he built a porticoed avenue along the ridge between the First and Second Hills. When the city subsequently expanded farther to the west, the Portico of Septimius Severus became the first

stretch of the Mese, or Middle Way, so called because it formed the central axis of Byzantine Constantinople. Today this first stretch is known as Divan Yolu, the Road of the Divan, because in Ottoman times it was the scene of processions to the Divan, or Imperial Council, which met in Topkapı Sarayı.

The Hippodrome

The Hippodrome is the the only monument remaining from the time of Septimius Severus, though it was probably rebuilt and perhaps enlarged by Constantine the Great a century and a quarter later (Fig. 6). The sixth-century chronicler John Malalas writes, "The most sacred Severus set up the Hippodrome in Byzantion, after purchasing buildings and removing trees which were in the garden there, he constructed the Hippodrome for the Byzantines, but was not able to complete this."[8] The *Chronicon Paschale,* a universal chronicle written in 622–3, reports that Constantine the Great completed and adorned the Hippodrome, which he dedicated together with the city of Constantinople on May 11, 330.

The site of the Hippodrome is on the southern side of the First Hill, preserved in a park known as the Atmeydanı, the Field of Horses, whose peripheral street follows the course of the ancient racetrack. The two long sides of the Hippodrome are now partially bounded by the Palace of Ibrahim Paşa, on the west, and the Mosque of Ahmet I, on the east. (The central axis of the Hippodrome is actually inclined at an angle of 38½° to the east of north, but for convenience we will assume that it runs due north.) The erection of these two Ottoman structures, the palace c. 1520 and the mosque in the years 1609–16, destroyed the superstructure of the Hippodrome. All that remains of the



6. The Hippodrome in the view of Constantinople by Panvinius, 1480 (from Müller-Weiner)



7. The southern end of the Hippodrome

Hippodrome is the massive substructure of its curved southern section, the *sphendone* (Fig. 7), which lies beneath the buildings at that end of the square. Because the Hippodrome was laid out on the Marmara slope of the First Hill, this substructure was necessary to create a level space for the southern end of the racetrack and the *sphendone.*

Excavations have shed some light on the architectural history and structure of the Hippodrome. These studies show that it was a somewhat asymmetric structure, approximately 455–75 meters long and an average of 122 meters wide. It had arched entryways in its straight northern end, with tiers of seats on its two long sides and around the curved *sphendone* at its southern end, which has an outside diameter of 117.5–20 meters. The length of the racetrack was 421–42 meters, and its width was 77–8 meters. Estimates of the seating capacity have varied considerably, ranging from 50,000 to 100,000. More recent studies indicate that it could seat a minimum of 50,000 and that temporary seating and standing room could perhaps bring the number up to 80,000. The seats were originally of wood but were replaced in marble by Justinian I (r. 527–65). One of these marble seats was recently unearthed and can now be seen in the outer courtyard west of the mosque of Ahmet I.

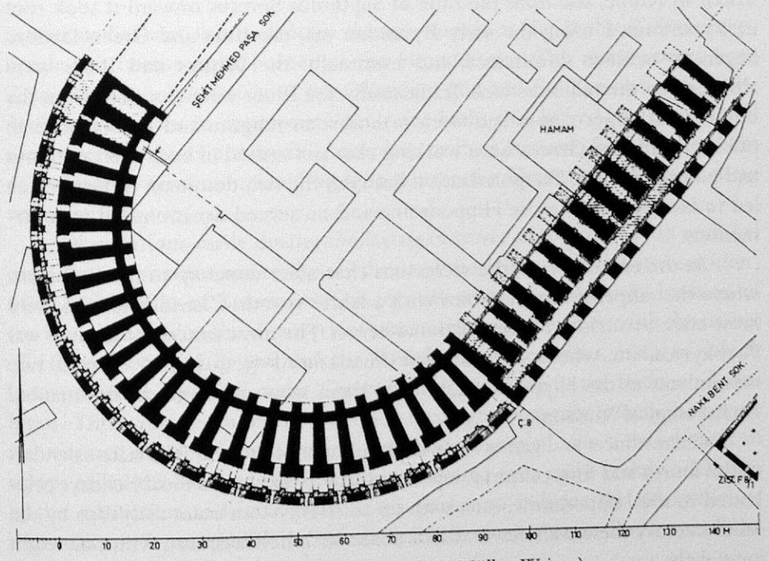
The *sphendone* of the Hippodrome has survived in a good state of preservation, and most of its structure can now be observed, as the houses built around its periphery have been cleared away. Gilles gives a clear description of the façade of the substructure:

> The whole façade of the Hippodrome is built on arches, which makes it stand on a level table and entertains the spectator with a very delectable view of the Propontis, so that you may not only see men sailing to and fro before you, but also the dolphins frequently tumbling about in the waters.[9]

The arches mentioned by Gilles are thirty-three in number. They articulate a series of barrel-vaulted trapezoidal chambers opening onto a peripheral corridor, also barrel vaulted, whose outer wall forms the façade of the *sphendone* (Fig. 8). The original purpose of these chambers is unknown, but it would seem that they would have served as shops, cafés, ateliers, and storage rooms for equipment used for the games in the Hippodrome. It has been suggested that one or more of the chambers were used by fortune-tellers and practitioners of folk magic, for Byzantine sources mention that there were such people plying their wizard trades around the Hippodrome.

Numbering the arches from east to west, the height of the surviving substructure varies from four meters at arch 33 to sixteen meters at arch 16, owing to the slope of the terrain. The arches have been bricked up, and secondary walls and buttresses have been built in the interior corridor, work that was probably done in the sixth century to reinforce the structure against earthquakes.

Above the upper tier of seats in the *sphendone* there was an arcade of columns, with an epistyle in the classical manner. Many of these columns were still standing until nearly a century after the Ottoman Conquest of 1453, when they were pulled down and used for building material. Pierre Gilles saw them being taken away, and he notes that they were removed on orders of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66) "to build a hospital."[10]



8. Plan of the southern end of the Hippodrome (from Müller-Weiner)

The royal viewing box, the Kathisma, was probably in the middle of the east side of the Hippodrome, perhaps in the same place as the front entrance to the outer courtyard of the Mosque of Ahmet I. The Kathisma appears to have comprised two storeys linked by a spiral internal stairway and was connected directly to the imperial residence, the Great Palace.

The fountain of Kaiser Wilhelm II at the northern end of the park probably marks the line of the *carceres.* This was the arched entryway to the Hippodrome through which the crowd passed going to and from the chariot races. The *carceres,* strictly speaking, were the stalls for the horses and chariots. These were housed in a two-storey structure, with the large central arched portal under a central tower twenty meters high. On the inner side of the *carceres* were the starting gates for the chariots, and the *quadrigas,* or four-horse chariots, usually four in number, emerged on the western side of the raceway. As Cyril Mango notes, "The *carceres* themselves and the space in front of them went by the name of Diipion."[11]

The four bronze horses that are now above the entryway of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice were part of a sculpture of a *quadriga* that probably stood above the central entryway of the *carceres.* This *quadriga,* which is ascribed to the celebrated Greek sculptor Lysippus, originally came from Greece, some scholars saying that it was brought from Chios and others from Delphi. After the Latin sack of Constantinople in 1204, the Venetian doge Enrico Dandolo sent the four horses to Venice, where they were placed on the façade of San Marco above the central portal of the basilica.

A chariot race required seven counterclockwise laps around the track. Each of the four chariots was backed by one of the groups into which the mob in the Hippodrome was divided, each with its own distinctive color: the Blues, Greens, Whites, and Reds. The institution of the so-called circus factions originated in Rome, and from the time of Septimius Severus onward it took root in Byzantium. During the early Byzantine era, the Blue and Green factions began to achieve dominance, and eventually the Whites and Reds were absorbed by the other factions. Traditionally, the Blues were recruited from the middle and upper classes and were orthodox in religion and conservative in politics, while the Greens were working class and radical in both their religious and political beliefs. The polarization between the two dominant factions often led to bloody fights in the Hippodrome and on several occasions led to insurrections.

At the end of a race, the victorious charioteer drove up to the Kathisma, where the emperor crowned him with a laurel wreath. Charioteers who were most often victorious became national heroes. The most famous of all time was Porphyrios, for whom the emperor Anastasius I (r. 491–517) erected two monuments in the Hippodrome, both of them now on exhibit in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

Chariot races and games were held throughout the year. The state calendars of the fourth and fifth centuries report as many as sixty-six annual holidays celebrated in the Hippodrome, each with up to twenty-four races daily. But by the tenth century there were fewer than a dozen such holidays, each with only eight races daily.

During the interval between the races, the crowd was entertained by exhibitions of wild animals, prizefighters, clowns, dwarfs, jugglers, acrobats, singers, and musicians. Sigurd, king of Norway, visited the Hippodrome in 1111, and he watched displays of fireworks and a spectacle in which performers appeared levitated in midair. Later in that century Benjamin of Tudela reported that during the intermissions he saw astonishing feats of juggling as well as a wild-animal show with lions, tigers, bears, and leopards.

The Hippodrome was badly damaged during the Latin occupation of the city in the years 1204–61, and after that no chariot races are reported by the chroniclers. Instead, the Hippodrome was used for tournaments of jousting, an equestrian sport acquired from the Latins by the last Byzantine dynasty, the Palaeologus emperors.

When a new emperor succeeded to the throne, it was traditional for him to make his first public appearance in the Kathisma of the Hippodrome; if he was popular, he was acclaimed by the populace, or jeered if he was not. The military victories of many emperors and generals were celebrated here, traditionally in ancient Roman fashion. A number of emperors were executed in the Hippodrome after being deposed, as were several patriarchs of Constantinople.

Down the central axis of the raceway there was a raised terrace called the *spina,* or spine, which was adorned with a line of statues, obelisks, and columns, three of which are still standing in situ. These three monuments, erected in the fourth and fifth centuries, are described later.

The Baths of Zeuxippos

Septimius Severus also built large *thermae,* known as the Baths of Zeuxippos, beside the northeastern corner of the Hippodrome. The name comes from Zeus Hippios, a syncretism of the Olympian god and the Thracian cult of the deified horseman, an appropriate name for baths that served the crowds and performers in the Hippodrome. According to the *Chronicon Paschale,* the Baths of Zeuxippos were completed by Constantine the Great, who adorned them with statuary.

Observations made during the laying of sewer pipes in 1927–28 revealed early Byzantine ruins just to the northeast of the Hippodrome that were identified as the Baths of Zeuxippos. This identification is based on the location of the ruins and also on the discovery of two statue bases inscribed with the names of Hecuba, wife of Priam, and the famed orator Aeschines, both of which inscriptions are recorded in the *Greek Anthology* as being in the Baths of Zeuxippos. The baths remained in use until the eighth century, when they were transformed into a prison known as the Numera, named after a detachment of troops called the Numeri. The ruins were covered over again at the conclusion of the excavation, and today there is no marker to indicate the site, which is near the southwestern corner of the park between Hagia Sophia and the Mosque of Ahmet I.

Other Monuments

The edifices erected by Septimius Severus are recorded in the *Chronicon Paschale,* which also refers to earlier monuments in the city. After mentioning the Baths of Zeuxippos, the *Chronicon* records other works of Septimius:

> Opposite to it in the acropolis he built the temple of Apollo, which also faced the two other temples, one to Artemis and the other to Phedalian Aphrodite. Opposite the temple of Artemis he built the Kynegion, a large menagerie for wild animals, and a theater opposite the temple of Aphrodite.[12]

The Temple of Aphrodite mentioned in the *Chronicon* was one of the oldest in Byzantium, and it did not entirely disappear until the reign of Theodosius I. The Kynegion, an amphitheater for gladiatorial combats and wild-animal shows, was apparently on the Marmara shore of the First Hill.

On the level ground along the shore of the Golden Horn was a field for military drill, the Strategion, near which, probably to the south, was a bath known as the Thermae of Achilles. Near the bath was a gateway in the walls that in the medieval era was known as the Arch of Urbicius. The principal entryway to the city, the Thracian Gate, was probably in the center of the western arc of the defense walls.

The agora, or marketplace, is believed to have been on the site of Aya Sofya Meydanı, the present square to the south of Hagia Sophia. This was originally known as the Tetrastoon, or Four-sided Stoa, because it was surrounded by porticoes.

Most of the city's temples were on the acropolis, and ancient sources mention shrines to a dozen Olympian gods and goddesses as well as to the Egyptian deities Isis and Serapis. Other structures known to have been built on the seaward slopes of the acropolis included a gymnasium, a stadium, and a theater. These monuments are mentioned by Dionysius Byzantius, who refers to the acropolis on the First Hill:

> At a little distance above the height is the altar of Athena Ecbasia – of the landing – where the colonists [Byzas and his company] fought as for their own land. There too is a temple of Poseidon, an ancient one and quite plain, which stands over the sea . . . . Below the temple of Poseidon, but within the walls, are stadia and gymnasia, and courses for the young.[13]

Dionysius goes on to write of a temple of Gé Onesidra, the Fruitful Earth, which consisted of "an unroofed space surrounded by a wall of polished stone." Nearby were "temples of Demeter and the Maiden [Persephone], with many pictures in them, relics of their former wealth." Dionysus was also shown the sites of temples dedicated to Hera and to Pluto, "the former having been destroyed by Darius and the latter by Philip of Macedon." At one of their religious festivals, the climax was a torch race in which naked youths ran from the Promentorium Bosphorium up to the acropolis to light a sacrificial fire at an altar there.

Outlying Settlements

The territory outside the walls of Septimius Severus was not entirely unoccupied. Statements by Dionysius Byzantius, as well as references by later Byzantine sources, indicate that there were a number of settlements and public buildings along the shores of the Golden Horn, the Marmara, and the Bosphorus as well as others on the Thracian downs beyond the city walls. The town of Sykae had already been established across the Golden Horn on the present site of Galata. The district known as Blachernai was situated on the northern slope of the Sixth Hill above the Golden Horn. Farther up the Golden Horn beyond Blachernai there was a settlement known as Cosmidion, which in Turkish times came to be called Eyüp. On the southern slope of the Seventh Hill there was a temple of Zeus within a sacred enclosure. And on the Marmara shore below the Seventh Hill there was a village known as Psamathion (Turkish Samatya), a name that is still used for that venerable quarter of the city. There were also settlements along the Asian shore of the Marmara beyond Chalcedon as well as on the little offshore archipelago known as the Princes Isles.

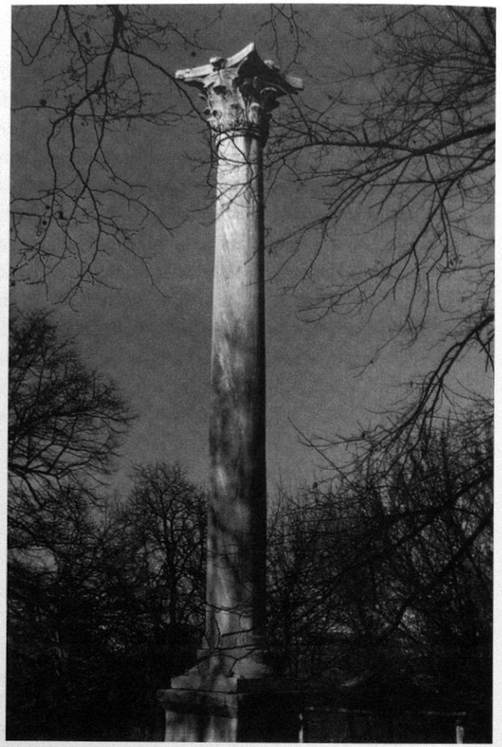
~

Byzantium lived at peace for more than half a century after it was rebuilt by Septimius Severus. But then around 257, during the joint reign of Valerian and his son Gallienus, the barbarian Goths moved down along the west coast of the Black Sea to invade Thrace and Bithynia. Chalcedon fell to the invaders, but Byzantium was protected by its defense walls, as it had been so often in the past.

The Goths invaded Thrace again in 268, soon after Gallienus had been assassinated and succeeded by Claudius II. The barbarians set out in a huge fleet across the Black Sea and sailed down the Bosphorus, making a futile attempt to take Byzantium before they went on through the straits to attack Greece. The Goths were finally defeated the following year by Claudius. They left 50,000 dead in the field before they gave up their invasion and returned to their homeland. The emperor was thereafter known as Claudius Gothicus and struck coins under that name in commemoration of his victory. But soon after his triumph he contracted the plague, from which he died at Sirmium early in 270.

The Goths Column

An ancient monument known as the Goths Column (Fig. 9) stands on the slope of the First Hill above the confluence of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, where their waters meet and flow together into the Sea of Marmara. The column is a monolith of Proconnesian marble surmounted by a Corinthian capital, the total height of the monument measuring about 18.5 meters. The name of the column comes from the laconic Latin inscription on its base: *FORTUNAE REDUCI OB DEVICTUS GOTHOS,* which means "To Fortune who



9. The Goths Column

returns by reason of the defeat of the Goths." (Urs Peschlow, in a paper published in 1991, records traces of an earlier but undecipherable inscription beneath the present one.) It is generally believed that the present inscription commemorates the triumph of Claudius Gothicus over the Goths in 269, although it is possible that it refers to victories by Constantine the Great over the Gothic tribes in 331–332. According to the the sixth-century chronicler John the Lydian, the capital was originally surmounted by a statue of Tyche, the Greek goddess of fortune, known to the Romans as Fortuna. Since Tyche was a pagan deity, the statue would have been removed after Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire. The Byzantine historian Nikephoros Gregoras, writing in the first half of the fourteenth century, reports that the Goths Column was surmounted by a statue of Byzas the Megarian, the eponymous founder of Byzantium. This would have been an appropriate spot for such a monument, since the colonists led by Byzas would have originally landed on the promontory just below the column, at the confluence of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn.



10. Tombstone from ancient Byzantium in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum

Other remains of ancient Byzantium are probably buried under the ruins and monuments of Byzantine Constantinople, which are in turn overlaid with the buildings of Ottoman and modern Istanbul. Excavations on the First Hill have unearthed numerous architectural and sculptural fragments, some of which are arrayed in the courtyards of Topkapı Sarayı and Hagia Sophia, while others are displayed in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, on the southwestern side of the acropolis.

The Archaeological Museum

The most evocative of the exhibits in the museum are funerary stelae found in the ancient burial grounds outside the walls of Byzantium, the oldest of them dating back to the fourth century B.C. (Fig. 10). The reliefs on these stelae are

particularly interesting because they represent the deceased surrounded by the objects that they used in their daily life. The stele of the naval officer Heris represents his weapons and the prow of his trireme; the scholar son of Hecatadorus is shown with his book, pen, and inkpot; the physician Musa with her surgical instruments and medical text; the astronomer Theodotus with his globe and sundial. One particularly poignant relief shows a nude youth holding a bird in his right hand as he looks down sadly at the pet dog lying at his feet. Another shows the lady Lollia Salbia lying on her couch surrounded by her maids, who are holding her mirror, her perfumes, and her cosmetics, for she must look her best even in the underworld. The comic actor Kefalo is shown in relief on both sides of his stele, on one side wearing a wolf's head and on the other the head of a bear; his head is cocked to the side and his pendant testicles are dangling between his bow legs, the last curtain call of an old comedian.

Such was the world of ancient Byzantium, which after nearly a thousand years of existence was fated to begin a new era in its history under a different name, suddenly becoming the capital of a world empire. The tides of history were moving eastward, and Byzantium, which had been far away from the Greek mainstream, was soon to find itself at the core of the Roman Empire, for it commanded the straits between Europe and Asia at the principal crossing point between the continents. An emperor here could march his legions with equal facility north through the Balkans to the Danube or east through Asia Minor. The city was already a hub of trade, both maritime and overland, and it was a magnet that attracted people as well as goods, a place suited to be the center of the world.



∽ 2

The City of Constantine

During the fourteen years after the death of Claudius II Gothicus, seven emperors succeeded one another on the Roman throne. All but one of these ephemeral emperors were assassinated; the exception was Carinus, defeated and killed in battle by his successor, Diocletian, who thus began his long and illustrious reign in 284.

Nine years after his succession, Diocletian introduced his famous tetrarchy, the "Rule of Four," which he instituted because he felt that the Roman Empire was too vast for one man to rule effectively by himself. Diocletian ruled as Augustus of the East, taking Galerius as his Caesar, while Maximian was made Augustus of the West, with Constantius Chlorus as Caesar. The Augustus was in each case the senior emperor, while his Caesar was the junior emperor.

Age and poor health led Diocletian to retire in 303, whereupon he forced Maximian to take a solemn oath that he too would abdicate, which he did in the spring of 305. Constantius Chlorus then succeeded as Augustus in the West, with Flavius Valerius Severus as his Caesar, while Galerius became Augustus in the East, with Maximinus Daia as his Caesar. During the next six years, a struggle for power took place between these four tetrarchs, continuing with those who in turn succeeded them. By the spring of 311, the Roman world was split between four emperors, Maximinus, Licinius, Maxentius, and Constantine, son of Constantius Chlorus, a tetrarchy that would soon be reduced to three, then two, and finally one.

Constantine defeated Maxentius on 28 October 312 north of Rome at the Milvian Bridge, and on the following day he entered the capital in triumph, his rival's severed head carried aloft on a lance before him. Afterwards it was said that at the battle of the Milvian Bridge Constantine had seen a sign in the sky by which he knew that he would be victorious. Constantine described the sign to his biographer Eusebius of Caesarea, who writes of it in his *Vita Constantini:* "He said that about midday, when the sun was about to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription 'Conquer by This' *(hoc Vince)*. At this sight he was struck with amazement, and his whole army also."[1]

The day after his victory the Senate formally conferred on Constantine the title of senior Augustus. By that time Constantine was in some sense

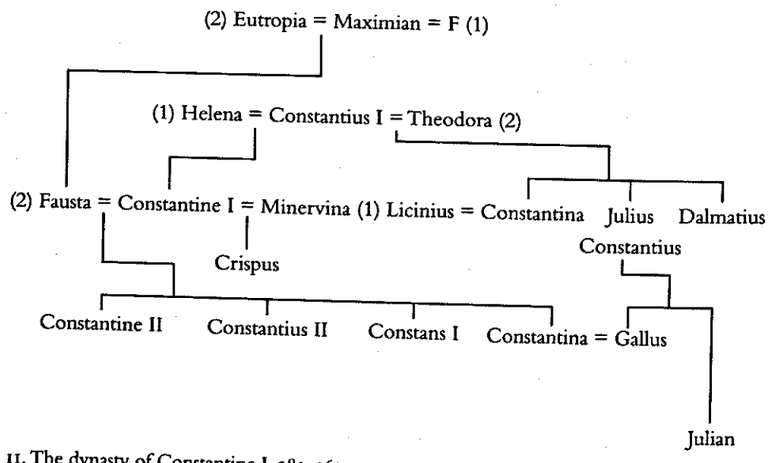
converted to Christianity, though he was not baptized until he was on his deathbed.

The other half of the tetrarchy was reduced to one in 313, when Licinius defeated Maximinus and made his triumphal entry into Nicomedia (Izmit), the ancient capital of Bithynia. Licinius then made Nicomedia his own capital, ruling from there as emperor of the East, while Constantine reigned in Rome as emperor of the West, setting the stage for the ultimate struggle between the two Augusti for sole control of the Roman Empire.

The last act of this struggle began on 3 July 324 at Adrianople (Edirne), where Constantine routed Licinius and forced him to retreat to Byzantium. The final battle was fought on 18 September 324 across the Bosphorus from Byzantium, in the hills above Chrysopolis, where Constantine once again defeated Licinius. Byzantium and Chalcedon immediately opened their gates to Constantine, while Licinius fled to Nicomedia, where he soon accepted the surrender terms offered to him by the victor. Licinius was then sent off into exile in Thessalonika, where he was subsequently executed, leaving Constantine as sole ruler of the Roman Empire (Fig. 11).

Within a few months of his victory Constantine decided to make Byzantium the capital of his empire. Byzantium's strategic location at the entrance to the Bosphorus appeared to him to make it a better site than Rome, which had long since ceased to be the administrative center of the empire. Also Rome, with its ancient pagan traditions, was not a suitable capital for the Christian empire that Constantine seems to have had in mind since his vision of the Cross at the battle of the Milvian Bridge. But Constantine left no record of his motives in founding his new capital, other than a remark in one of his edicts concerning the reconstruction of Byzantium on a larger and grander scale to fit its imperial role, where he declares that he acted "on the command of God."

While the reconstruction of Byzantium was underway, Constantine lived in Nicomedia, where Diocletian had erected a palace and where Galerius and



11. The dynasty of Constantine I, 285–363

Licinius in turn had resided when reigning as emperor of the East. There one of his first acts was to issue a constitution to his subjects in which he promised to make restitution to all the Christians who had suffered in earlier Roman persecutions. He then took steps to bring harmony to the Christian Church, which had become involved in a widespread controversy concerning the rival theological doctrines of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and Arius, one of his priests, who maintained that Christ was not the immortal son of God, nor of the same substance, a doctrine that came to be known as Arianism. Constantine sought to settle the dispute by convening the First Ecumenical Council of the Church, which met in the Bithynian city of Nicaea (Iznik) between 20 May and 19 June 325. The council, at which Constantine himself presided, condemned Arianism and settled other matters as well, including an agreement on the date of Easter. The new capital was represented at the council by the first Archbishop of Constantinople, Alexander, who had been consecrated in 324 by a synod of bishops.

The reconstruction of Byzantium was completed early in 330, when Constantine took up residence in the city in preparation for its dedication. The imperial edict of foundation was engraved on a stele erected in the Strategion; it recorded that thenceforth Byzantium was to be called NOVA ROMA CONSTANTINOPOLITANA. Although the newly rebuilt city was officially called Nova Roma (New Rome), in popular speech it was from the beginning known in Greek as Constantinopolis, the City of Constantine, which in English became Constantinople. Nevertheless, the native-born Greek-speaking people of the city continued to call themselves Byzantini, for "they were of Byzantium."

The population of the new capital can be estimated from the fact that Constantine supplied daily rations of free bread for 80,000 people, the loaves being distributed at places throughout the city called steps. Thus the population must have approached 100,000, perhaps five times greater than it had been when it was a Greek city.

Constantine's efforts to transform Byzantium into an imperial capital are described in the *Chronicon Paschale:*

> The illustrious Emperor Constantine, having come from Rome and being resident at Nicomedeia, paid repeated visits to Byzantium. He renewed the original walls of the city of Byzas and made many additions to them which joined to the ancient walls, and he called the city Constantinople. He also completed the Hippodrome, which he decorated with bronze statues and other embellishments and made in it a loge [the Kathisma] for the emperor to watch [the games] in imitation of the one in Rome. He built a great palace near the said Hippodrome and connected it with the loge of the Hippodrome by an ascending staircase called *cochlias.* He also constructed a big and very beautiful forum and set up in the center of it a tall column of purple Theban stone worthy of admiration. At the top of this column, he set up a big statue of himself with rays on his head, which bronze statue he brought from Phrygia. . . . Constantine . . . having built an immense, splendid and felicitous city, named it Constantinople.[2]

The Walls of Constantine

The new line of defense walls with which Constantine enclosed the city probably began on the Golden Horn somewhat above the present Atatürk Bridge in the quarter now known as Cibalı. It extended from there to the summit of the Fifth Hill, crossed the valley of the Lycus River to the Seventh Hill, then descended to the shore of the Marmara. The city of Constantine was nearly five times larger in area than Byzantium had been after its rebuilding by Septimius Severus.

Nothing now remains of the Walls of Constantine, which were superceded when Theodosius II (r. 408–50) built a new line of defensive walls a mile farther out into Thrace. The last mention of a surviving fragment of the Constantinian Walls dates to the ninth century.

The Harbors on the Marmara

The Constantinian Walls enclosed three harbors on the Marmara shore as well as the ancient ports of Bosphorion and Neorion on the Golden Horn. The Marmara harbors were on the southern shores of the First, Third, and Seventh Hills. The largest of these was the one on the shore of the Seventh Hill, known as the Harbor of Eleutherios, named for an otherwise unknown dignitary who constructed it when Constantine founded Constantinople. All three of these harbors were dredged and rebuilt by later emperors and will be described in more detail in subsequent chapters.

The Mese and other Streets and Squares

The main east-west avenue of the city came to be called the Mese, or Middle Way. This began at the western end of the Tetrastoon, its first section being the Portico of Severus, which extended from there to the summit of the Second Hill. Constantine appears to have rebuilt and extended this colonnaded way, as evidenced by the *Chronicon Paschale,* which says that he built two "beautiful porticoes from the entrance of the palace to the forum."[3] These porticoes appear to have been built at the expense of Eubulus, one of the senators who had accompanied Constantine from Rome, and are mentioned in a Byzantine building code enacted toward the end of the fifth century. Here mention is made of two monuments of the Constantinian city: the Milion, a triumphal archway at the beginning of the Mese on the First Hill, and the Capitolium, or Capitol, which was at the point on the Third Hill where the Mese divided into two branches, near the present site of the Laleli mosque.

> We ordain that none shall be allowed to obstruct with buildings the numerous rows of columns which are erected in the public porticoes, such as those leading from the Milion to the Capitol; [all shops and booths set in between the columns] must be ornamented on the outside at least with marble, that they may beautify the city and give pleasure to the passersby.[4]

After passing through the Forum Tauri, on the summit of the Third Hill, the Mese came to an intersection at the Philadelphaion, so called in honor of the "brotherly love" that supposedly existed between Constantine's four intended heirs: his three sons – Constantine, Constantius, and Constans – and their cousin Dalmatius, all of whom he had raised to the rank of Caesar. The Philadelphaion contained a group of three columns, one surmounted by a golden cross, a second by the figure of Constantine, and the third by that of his mother Helena. Halfway up the second and third columns there were consoles supporting a statue group, each representing a pair of Constantine's heirs, shown embracing one another. A fragment of the foot of one of the four Caesars from this monument was found in an archaeological excavation near the site of the Philadelphaion in 1965 and is now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. The remainder of the monument is set into the southeast corner of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice, to which it had been taken by the Venetians after they and the Latin knights of the Fourth Crusade captured and sacked Constantinople in 1204.

Later, after the Theodosian Walls were built, the Philadelphaion came to be known as the Mesomphalos, the Navel of the City, since it marked the geographic center of Constantinople.

At the Philadelphaion the Mese separated into two branches going out to the city walls, one to the northwest and the other to the southwest. The northwest fork went out to the Fourth Hill, where it ended in the Porta Polyandraion, the Gate of the Cemetery, taking its name from the large burial ground there outside the Constantinian Walls. The southwest fork went along the Marmara slope of the Seventh Hill to the Porta Aurea, or Golden Gate, a portal in the Constantinian Walls. (This is not to be confused with the portal of the same name built into the Theodosian Walls.) Enroute this branch of the Mese passed in turn through the Forum Amastrianum, the Forum Bovis, and then the Forum of Arcadius, built at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries.

Beside the Mese and its branches, a number of other streets are known to have been laid out by Constantine and his immediate successors. Like the Mese, these ancient streets can still be traced along those of the modern city. One of these streets led from the ports on the Golden Horn up to the summit of the Third Hill, where it joined the Mese just to the east of the Forum Bovis, the intersection marked by a tetrapylon, or four-sided archway. This was flanked by porticoes, so that it came to be called Makro Embolos, the Street of the Long Colonnade. The course of this colonnaded way is perpetuated by the present Uzun Çarşı Caddesi, the Avenue of the Long Market, the main shopping street between the Golden Horn and the famous Covered Bazaar.

The Milion (Miliarium Aureum)

The Milion seems to have been a tetrapylon, covered by a baldachin. Its full name was the Miliarium Aureum, or Golden Milestone, after its prototype in Rome, which was the reference point for all roads in the West, whereas the one here was the zero marker for the Via Egnatia, the great Roman highway that led from the

Adriatic to Constantinople. According to the *Patria Constantinopoleos,* a guidebook compiled *c.* 995, the Milion marked the site of one of the gateways of the ancient city of Byzantium, perhaps the Thracian Gate, mentioned as early as 400 B.C. by Xenophon in his *Anabasis*, or *The March Up-Country.* The Milion appears to have stood on a high platform surrounded by a number of statues, including a representation of Constantine and his mother Helena holding between them the True Cross. According to the *Parastaseis,* a guidebook written in 741–75, there was also an ancient statue group representing Zeus Helios, the sun god: "In golden Milion, a chariot with four fiery horses driven headlong beside two statues has existed since ancient times."[5] The *Parastaseis* notes that Theodosius II erected a bronze equestrian statue, which he dedicated with the donation of a large quantity of grain to the city. The Milion was also decorated with paintings representing the first six ecumenical councils of the Church, but these were demolished during the Iconoclastic Period by Constantine V (r. 741–75), according to Cyril Mango.

The Milion disappeared after the Turkish Conquest and was probably demolished to provide building material for the *suterazi,* or water-control tower, which stands on the north side of Divan Yolu on the corner where the avenue leaves Aya Sofya Meydanı. The site of the Milion was excavated in 1969 by Nezih Fıratlı and T. Ergil, who discovered a marble stele that formed part of the tetrapylon. The stele is now preserved in situ at the base of the suterazi.

The earliest description of Constantinople is by Zosimus in his *Historia Nova,* written at the end of the fifth century. After defining the extent of the new city, Zosimus goes on to describe some of the edifices with which Constantine adorned his capital. Among these were the Hippodrome, a forum, a palace, several temples, and "houses for certain senators who had followed him from Rome."[6]

The Hippodrome

Constantine rebuilt and enlarged the original Hippodrome erected by Septimius Severus. He also adorned it with a number of monuments, two of which still stand on the *spina.*

Near the south end of the Hippodrome there is a roughly built pillar of stone some 32 meters high. Pierre Gilles called it the Colossus, but most modern writers refer to it, erroneously, as the Column of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Both names stem from the Greek inscription on its base, where the monument is compared to the Colossus of Rhodes and where it is recorded that the pillar was restored and sheathed in bronze by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (r. 913–59). The inscription also records that the pillar had decayed in time; thus it must date from an earlier period, probably from that of Constantine the Great.

The second of the monuments on the *spina* attributed to Constantine is the Serpent Column. The three intertwined serpents that form the column were the base of a trophy that once stood in the shrine of Apollo at Delphi, dedicated by the citizens of the thirty-one cities who defeated the Persians at Plataea in 479 B.C. The base of the column was uncovered in 1920, revealing the names of the cities inscribed on the lower coils of the serpents. The column was brought from Delphi by Constantine the Great and erected in the Hippodrome. The three serpent heads were knocked off at various times during the Ottoman era; the upper part of one of them is now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

The Forum and Column of Constantine

The forum mentioned by Zosimus was that of Constantine, which the emperor built astride the Mese on the summit of the Second Hill. It was bordered by columned porticoes and was once thought to be oval in form, although current opinion is that it was more likely circular.

All that survives of the forum is the enormous monument at what was once its center, the Column of Constantine (Plate I). This now consists of a very ungainly masonry base about ten meters high surmounted by a shaft of six porphyry drums, the joints between them hooped with iron bands. At the summit are ten courses of masonry topped by a marble block. The total height is 34.8 meters. Originally the column had a square pedestal standing on five steps. On the pedestal was a porphyry plinth and column base and seven porphyry drums. (The present masonry casing conceals the lowest of these.) At the summit, instead of the present masonry, there was a large capital, presumably Corinthian, surmounted by a colossal statue of Constantine in the guise of Apollo, the deified emperor as sun god, with seven golden rays of light radiating from his crown.

The iron hoops were an early addition, put on in 416 because the lowest part of the column had a piece knocked out of it and was thought to be unsafe. The statue of Constantine fell down as the result of a violent wind in 1106, and half a century later Manuel I Comnenus replaced the capital with the present masonry courses, on top of which he placed a large cross. The lower masonry is Turkish work added in 1779 in order to bolster up the column. The column was restored in the 1980s, when the iron hoops were replaced by steel bands.

The Column of Constantine was the scene of the final act of the ceremonies held to dedicate the new capital. The dedication ceremonies began on 2 April 330 and lasted for forty days. They comprised a combination of pagan and Christian liturgies, including a high mass in Hagia Eirene, the Church of the Divine Peace, which appears to have served as the cathedral of Byzantium. The final day of the ceremonies, 11 May, began with the entire populace of the city congregating in the Hippodrome. After the completion of the inaugural rites there, Constantine led the throng in procession to the new forum he had built on the summit of the Second Hill, where the city of New Rome was officially dedicated. The *Chronicon Paschale* describes the climax of this ceremony, which, according to Constantine's decree, would be repeated every year on the founding date of Constantinople:

> He conducted the first circus games [in the Hippodrome] and was the first to wear a diadem decorated with pearls and precious stones. He celebrated a great feast and ordered by his sacred decree that on this day, the 11th of Artemisios [May], be observed the birthday of his city, and that the public Bath of Zeuxippos be opened. He had another statue of

himself made of gilded wood, holding in his right hand the Tyche of the city, also gilded, and he decreed that on the day of the birthday games this wooden statue should be brought in under the escort of soldiers wearing cloaks and boots, everyone holding white tapers, and that the chariot should go round the upper turning-post [of the Hippodrome] and come to the Stamma [the finishing line] facing the Imperial Loge, and that the reigning emperor should arise and pay homage to the statue of the Emperor Constantine and the Tyche of the city.[7]

The *Book of Ceremonies,* a manual of Byzantine court rituals written by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, records four religious festivals that were celebrated in and around a small chapel in the base of the column. The chapel was dedicated to St. Constantine, the emperor having been canonized after his death, along with his mother Helena (their feast-day is celebrated by the Greek Orthodox Church on 21 May). Cyril Mango has pointed out that this chapel enshrined the Holy Nails with which Christ was supposed to have been hung from the Cross. He also suggests that these nails had formed the seven golden rays of the *aurum coronarium,* the radiate crown that Constantine wore as Apollo in his statue atop the column.

Around the Forum of Constantine, which was adorned with statues both pagan and Christian, stood the usual public buildings: a senate (there was another senate house on the First Hill), the Praetorium (headquarters of the Praetorium Prefect of the East), the Nymphaeum (a building used for the celebration of weddings), and several temples and churches. The relics of all this grandeur are now buried some three meters below the present level of Divan Yolu, the modern avenue that follows the course of this part of the Mese, and all that remains visible is the Column of Constantine.

Excavations for a building site close to the Column of Constantine in the mid-nineteenth century revealed a colossal marble sculptural fragment consisting of two Gorgon heads back to back. These are identical to the two Gorgon heads that form the bases of columns in the Basilica Cistern, an enormous underground reservoir built by Justinian on the First Hill. The latter two heads were undoubtedly removed from their original location when the Basilica Cistern was built (or repaired) after the Nika Revolt of 532. The four heads would have been part of a Gorgon frieze on an edifice in the Forum of Constantine, perhaps removed from an ancient temple in Asia Minor.



The Augoustaion

The Augoustaion was a large square that Constantine carved out of the ancient Tetrastoon, its boundaries much the same as the present Aya Sofya Meydanı. According to the *Chronicon Paschale,* the square was named in honor of Constantine's mother Helena, who bore the imperial title Augusta, ordinarily reserved for the emperor himself. Within the square there was a statue of the Empress Helena set upon a porphyry column, which the *Chronicon* says stood opposite the senate there.

According to Zosimus, Constantine erected two pagan temples in the Augoustaion, one of them dedicated to Rhea, mother of the gods, and the other to Fortuna Romana, the Greek Tyche, goddess of fortune.

The southern side of the Augoustaion was bordered by a colonnaded street known variously as the Portico of Achilles or the Regia, mentioned in the *Chronicon,* an eastward extension of the Mese that began at the Milion. At its eastern end the street gave access to the Chalke, or Brazen House, the monumental entryway to the Great Palace.

The Senate House on the Augoustaion

North of the Chalke at the eastern end of the Augoustaion was the second of the two senate houses, usually attributed to Constantine, though it may have been founded by Julian the Apostate (r. 361–3). This was burned down during a riot in 404 by the followers of the Patriarch John Chrysostom, who had been deposed by the Empress Eudoxia, wife of the Emperor Arcadius. It was rebuilt only to be burned down again in the Nika Revolt of 532, after which it was rebuilt once more, part of Justinian's reconstruction program.

The Stoa Basilica

A short way to the northwest of the Augoustaion was an equally large square known as the Stoa Basilica, or the Imperial Portico. The Stoa Basilica became the intellectual center of the city under Constantine and his immediate successors. It was surrounded by the central law courts of the Empire, the principal public library, a large outdoor book market, and the famous law school known as the Tetradesion Octagonon, called more simply the Octagon.

The Stoa Basilica was destroyed by fire in 476, during the brief reign of the usurper Basiliscus, who temporarily seized the throne from the Emperor Zeno. Soon afterwards the stoa was rebuilt by a high official named Illos, whose name it bore for a time. The stoa was destroyed again during the Nika Revolt in 532, to be rebuilt by the Emperor Justinian, who constructed a huge cistern beneath it.

The Chalkoprateia

The Chalkoprateia, or Copper Market, was just to the north of the Stoa Basilica. Artisans in copper and bronze apparently plied their trades here since at least the time of Constantine. This was probably the site of the oldest Jewish quarter of the city, since some of the artisans in the Chalkoprateia were given permission by Theodosius I to build a synagogue. As soon as the synagogue was erected, the enraged Christians burned it down. Theodosius fined the Christians and gave the Jews permission to build another synagogue on the same site. But St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, castigated the emperor for "allowing the Jews to build a synagogue

in the very center of the Queen of Cities," forcing Theodosius to revoke his permission; the building therefore remained in ruins. Then in the middle of the following century a church was built on the site, dedicated to the Theotokos Chalkoprateia, the Mother of God of the Copper Market.

The Great Palace

The Great Palace, mentioned by both Zosimus and the *Chronicon,* was laid out on terraces amidst gardens on the First Hill just to the east of the Hippodrome, extending from there down to the Marmara. This vast complex was extended, restored, and embellished by a number of Constantine's successors, and it was the principal imperial residence up until the late eleventh century. Literary sources mention a number of buildings within the imperial enclosure, most notably the Chrysotriklinos, or Golden Hall, a domed octagon that was to become the throne room and ceremonial center of the palace; the Magnaura, a ceremonial hall in the form of a basilica; the Palace of Boukoleon, a seaside residence; the Chalke, a monumental vestibule opening on to the Augoustaion; and the Kathisma, the royal loge in the Hippodrome. However, nothing now remains of the Great Palace from the reign of Constantine, and the earliest extant remnants date from the sixth century.

Hagia Eirene

The original Hagia Eirene, the Church of the Divine Peace, appears to have been founded on the First Hill prior to the establishment of Constantinople as capital of the empire. It was always known as Palaia Ekklesia, or the Old Church, whereas Hagia Sophia, the Church of the Divine Wisdom, which was founded later, was called Megale Ekklesia, the Great Church. The fifth-century historian Socrates credits Constantine with the rebuilding of Hagia Eirene, and he notes that Hagia Sophia was completed by Constantine's son and successor Constantius. Paulus I Confessor was consecrated as archbishop of Constantinople in Hagia Eirene in 337, beginning the first of his three terms in that office. The Episcopeion, seat of the archbishop of Constantinople, was originally attached to Hagia Eirene. Later, when the archbishop was elevated to the rank of patriarch, the patriarchate was attached to Hagia Sophia. Socrates notes that the two churches stood within the same precincts, along with the Patriarchate. He writes that Constantius, when completing "the Great Church called Sophia, adjoined it to that named Eirene, previously a small church which the King's father had enlarged and embellished. And now both, under one name, are seen within the same enclosure."[8]

The Church of the Holy Apostles

The Church of the Holy Apostles, known in Greek as the Apostoleion, stood on the summit of the Fourth Hill, some 400 meters inside the Constantinian Walls

on the north side of the branch of the Mese that led to the Porta Polyandreum. Apparently the Constantinian Apostoleion was a domed rotunda designed as a mausoleum, to which Constantius added a cruciform basilica, depositing in it the relics of SS. Timothy, Luke, and Andrew twenty years after his father's death.

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, describes in his *Vita Constantini* how Constantine designed the Apostoleion with a dual purpose, to be at once a memorial to the Twelve Apostles and at the same time a mausoleum for himself as the Thirteenth Apostle, a title that the Byzantine emperors would thenceforth hold in the Greek Orthodox Church.

> All these edifices the emperor consecrated with the desire of perpetuating the memory of the apostles of our Savior. He had, however, another object in erecting this building: an object at first unknown, but which afterwards became evident to all. He had in fact made a choice of this spot in the prospect of his own death, anticipating with extraordinary fervor of faith that his body would share their title with the apostles themselves, and that he should thus even after death become the subject with them, of the devotions which should be performed in their honor in this place. He accordingly caused twelve coffins to be set up in this church, like sacred pillars in honor and memory of the apostolic number, in the center of which his own was placed, having six of theirs on either side of it. Thus, as I said, he had provided with prudent foresight an honorable resting-place for his body after his death, and having long before secretly formed this resolution, he now consecrated this church to the apostles, believing that this tribute to their memory would be of no small advantage to his own soul.[9]

Eusebius goes on to describe the edifice erected by Constantine:

> After this [Constantine's founding of Constantinople] he proceeded to erect a church in memory of the apostles, in the city which bears his name. The building he carried to a vast height, and brilliantly decorated by encasing it from the foundation to the roof with marble slabs of various colors. He also formed the inner roof of finely fretted work, and overlaid it throughout with gold. The external covering, which protected the building from the weather, was of brass instead of tiles; and this too was splendidly and profusely adorned with gold, and reflected the sun's rays with a brilliancy which dazzled the distant beholder. The dome was entirely encompassed by a finely carved tracery, wrought in brass and gold.
>
> Such was the magnificence with which the emperor was pleased to beautify this church. The building was surrounded by an open area of great extent, the four sides of which were terminated by porticoes which enclosed the area and the church itself. Adjoining these porticoes were ranges of stately chambers, with baths and lodging rooms,

and many other apartments adapted to the use of them who had charge of the place.[10]

The circumstances of Constantine's final days are narrated by Eusebius in the last chapter of his *Vita Constantini*. According to Eusebius, the emperor's last illness came upon him in 336. Constantine sought to cure his sickness in the hot baths of Constantinople, but when this failed, he went to his mother's native village on the south shore of the Gulf of Nicomedia, near the town presently known as Yalova, where there were thermal springs renowned for their therapeutic powers. Finding no relief there, Constantine moved to Diocletian's palace in Nicomedia, where he summoned the bishops of the region and made a confession of his faith. Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia then baptized Constantine and received him into the Christian fold. When the sacraments had been administered to him, Constantine exclaimed, according to Eusebius of Caesarea, "Now I know in truth that I am blessed; now I have confidence that I am a partaker of divine light."[11]

Constantine had waited until almost the last possible moment to be baptized, for he died a few days later, on Whit Sunday, 22 May 337. His motives for this delay have long been debated. One possible reason is that he believed that his deathbed confession and baptism would enable him to die in a state of grace, thus ensuring that he would have everlasting life in the next world.

Constantine's embalmed body, placed in a golden coffin shrouded with a purple pall, was carried from Nicomedia to Constantinople, where it lay in state in the main hall of the Great Palace for three and a half months. The long delay in burying Constantine was due to the question of his succession, for in 335 he had made plans for dividing most of the Empire between his surviving sons, Constantius, Constantine, and Constans, and their nephew Dalmatius. All four of the heirs were abroad at the time of Constantine's death, but Constantius hurried back to Constantinople to preside over the state funeral of his father. Constantine's coffin was then carried through the halls of the Great Palace for his last exit through the bronze portals of the Chalke. There, according to the ritual described in the *Book of Ceremonies,* the attendants cried out, "Go out Sire, for it is the King of Kings who calls thee now, and the Lord of Lords!"[12]

The emperor's coffin was then carried in procession along the Mese to his mausoleum in the Church of the Holy Apostles, where it was placed in a huge porphyry sarcophagus, surrounded by twelve other sarcophagi. As we have learned from Eusebius of Caesarea, Constantine had planned this funerary arrangement as being appropriate to his self-assumed title of Isapostolos, Equal of the Apostles.

Modern scholarship has cast doubt on the statement by Eusebius of Caesarea that twelve sarcophagi representing the tombs of the Apostles surrounded that of Constantine, an arrangement that Philip Grierson says "sounds like a stage direction for Mozart's Magic Flute." As Richard Krautheimer has written, referring to the emperor's title of Isapostolos, "Such an unorthodox outlook apparently became intolerable when, in 356/7, real relics of apostles were brought into the church and Constantine's remains were transferred into a separate, adjoining mausoleum of traditional plan, circular and domed."[13]



Thus Constantine had passed away, and now it would be left to his successors to build on the beginning he had made in establishing a new capital on the shores of the Bosphorus.

Sancaktar Mescidi

There is a little-known Byzantine monument in the city that tradition associates with St. Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, although the supporting evidence is tenuous. This is the former Byzantine church known as Sancaktar Mescidi, which is located in the ancient district of Samatya on the Marmara slope of the Seventh Hill. The building was for long in ruins, but it has recently been restored and is once again serving as a mosque (Plates II, III).

The structure is octagonal on the exterior, with a large arch on each side rising to the cornice. The walls under the arches on the north, south and west sides are pierced by windows, with the entrance under the western arch. The interior has a Greek-cross plan, with triple-arched barrel vaults forming the arms. The central area is covered by a dome 6.4 meters in diameter. The eastern arm terminates in an apse, semicircular within and showing five sides on the exterior, with its three central arches pierced by windows that are now bricked in. The two mullions of the central windows can still be seen, their capitals inscribed with crosses. The eastern crossarm, which would have been the bema, has shallow niches on either side that would have served as the pastophoria. A similar niche is found also on the eastern side of the northern arm of the cross. There is also a small chamber in the wall to the west of the southern arch.

Sancaktar Mescidi was identified by Paspates, on very slender evidence, as one of the buildings of the famous Monastery of Gastria. The legend is that this monastery was founded soon after 330 by St. Helena and that it derives its name of Gastria, which means "flower pots," from the vases of fragrant shrubs she had brought back from Jerusalem with the fragment of the True Cross she had discovered there. This story is refuted by Janin, who showed that there is no record of the existence of the Monastery of Gastria before the ninth century. Nevertheless he agreed with the identification of Sancaktar Mescidi as part of the Monastery of Gastria and suggested that it dates from the eleventh or twelfth century. A. Pasadaios, in a study done in 1965, said that the apse is older than the rest of the building and dated it to the fourth century. Van Millingen, on the other hand, thought that it was a later addition. Thomas Mathews is of the opinion that the earlier dating by Pasadaios is "probably to be preferred." In support of this, he wrote, "The massive tripling of arches over the crossarms on the outside is reminiscent of the masonry of the fourth-century hippodrome, and the broad pendentives that link the arches with the dome are also characteristic of Early Byzantine style."[14]

3

THE IMPERIAL CAPITAL

During the three and a half months between the death of Constantine and his burial, the government was in a state of crisis over the question of his successor, and, in the interim, the affairs of state were actually carried out in the name of the dead emperor.

The hiatus ended on 9 September 337, when Constantine's three sons–Constantius, Constantine, and Constans–gave themselves the title of Augustus and then had their action ratified by the senate in Rome. The three Augusti then disposed of possible rivals in the imperial family, instigating an uprising among the garrison at Constantinople that led to the slaughter of two of their uncles and seven cousins, including Delmatius. The only male survivors in the imperial family were two young sons of Julius Constantius, a half-brother of Constantine the Great. These were Gallus, who was then eleven years old, and Julian, who was five, both spared because of their youth. The two princes were thereafter kept under close surveillance, first in Constantinople and then in a remote castle in Asia Minor.

The three Augusti met early in the summer of 338 to divide up the empire, retaining essentially the same regions over which they had ruled as Caesars. Constantius reigned over the eastern part of the empire, while the western provinces were ruled by Constantine II and Constans. This division inevitably led to a protracted three-sided struggle in which both Constantine and Constans were killed. Thus Constantius, then twenty years of age, emerged as sole ruler of the Roman Empire, with his capital at Constantinople.

Constantius released Gallus from his long captivity in 351, then raised him to the rank of Caesar and gave him command of the army on the Persian front. The eunuch Eusebius, the grand chamberlain, convinced Constantius that Gallus was plotting to usurp the throne. This led the emperor to have his cousin beheaded in 354, a sentence carried out under the direction of the grand chamberlain.

The following year Constantius raised Julian to the rank of Caesar and sent him to command the army in Gaul, despite the fact that he had no military experience, having spent his life up to that point in scholarship. Though he had been a devout Christian in his youth, Julian's studies in classical Greek literature and

philosophy led him to reject Christianity when he was twenty and turn instead to the gods of the ancient Graeco-Roman world, though for obvious reasons he kept his apostasy a secret. When Julian arrived in Gaul, according to Libanius of Antioch, the young Caesar "had authority to do nothing save to wear the uniform," but within five years he won four notable victories over the Franks and established himself as an outstanding general.

Constantius ruled for nearly a quarter of a century, though he spent only a few years in Constantinople. He returned to the city in 356, at which time he took steps to elevate its status to suit its role as the imperial capital. He raised the rank of its chief magistrate from proconsul to prefect, as at Rome, and greatly increased the size of the senate. At the same time he also renewed his father's program of consolidating Christianity as the state religion; as a prelude, in 356 he had issued an edict closing all pagan temples in the empire and banning pagan practices.

The religious controversy involving Arianism emerged again during the reign of Constantius. Constantius was himself a moderate follower of the Arian doctrine, and after the death of Bishop Alexander of Constantinople, he appointed a follower of Arius to the see. The orthodox party rejected the appointment, however, and named their own bishop. This led to a battle in which the emperor's troops attacked the partisans of orthodoxy in the Church of Hagia Eirene and slaughtered more than 3,000 of them. The bitter memory of this massacre poisoned relations between Constantius and the people of Constantinople for the rest of his reign.

HAGIA SOPHIA

Constantius had already rebuilt his father's mausoleum at the Apostoleion, to which, as has been noted, he added a cruciform basilica. Then in the penultimate year of his reign he completed Hagia Sophia. The Great Church was consecrated by the Archbishop Eudoxius on 15 February 360. The church was apparently a timber-roofed basilica, with a nave flanked by two or possibly four aisles, overlooked by galleries. Close to the church there was a baptistery called Olympas, as well as a *skeuophylakion,* or treasury, where the sacred vessels used in the liturgy were kept.

Constantius died on 3 November 361 while on campaign against the Persians. Julian had already been proclaimed emperor by his troops and was en route to Constantinople, which he reached on 11 December of that same year. He was greeted enthusiastically by the populace as the first emperor to have been born in their city, as Zosimus writes:

> When he had approached Byzantium all welcomed him with songs of praise, hailing him as their fellow citizen and foster child inasmuch as he had been born and raised in this city. In other respects as well they made their obeisances as though he would be the author of the greatest blessings for mankind. Thereat he took charge of the city and the armies simultaneously.[1]

One of Julian's first acts as emperor was to execute the eunuch Eusebius, who had poisoned his uncle's mind against him. Julian also dismissed all of the other eunuchs in the imperial service as well as the superfluous servants who had been hired by Constantius. Libanius of Antioch describes those who were dismissed by Julian as follows: "There were a thousand cooks, as many barbers, and even more butlers. There were swarms of lackeys, the eunuchs were even more in number than flies around the flocks in spring, and a multitude of drones of every sort and kind."[2]

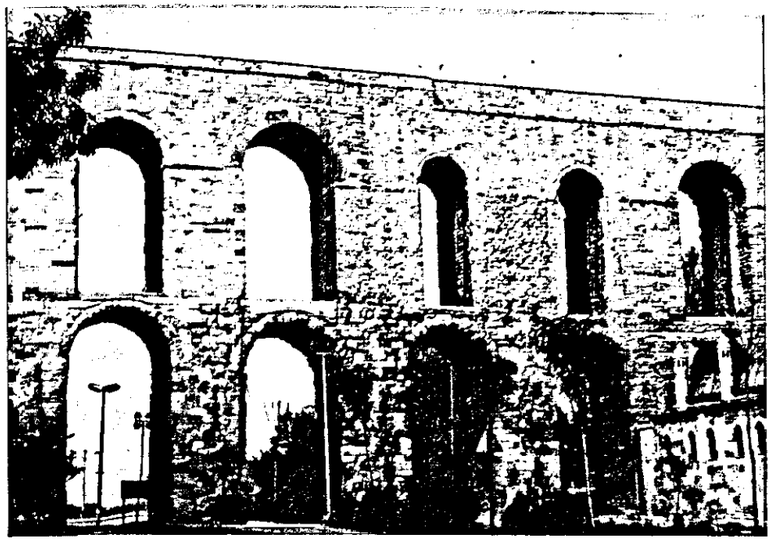
Julian then reorganized the imperial government and commissioned several public works in Constantinople, building a second senate house and a library. The second senate, which is sometimes attributed to Constantine, though probably erroneously, stood on the eastern side of the Augoustaion. The library, built in the Stoa Basilica, contained Julian's own collection of books, and by the end of the fifth century it was estimated to comprise 600,000 volumes. Julian ordered an ancient obelisk from Egypt, but it seems to have arrived after his reign had ended, to be erected in the Hippdrome in 390 by Theodosius I. Julian also dredged the harbor on the Marmara below the First Hill, and for two centuries afterwards this harbor was known as the Port of Julian.

Julian openly confessed his paganism as soon as he became emperor. A few days after his arrival in Constantinople, he issued several decrees that permitted the public performance of all religious ceremonies, pagan and Jewish as well as Christian, compensated the owners of all temple property that had been confiscated since the time of Constantine, and withdrew the subsidies that the government had been giving to the Christian clergy. He issued a further decree ordering the recall of all Christian clergy exiled for heresy or schism. When Julian was reorganizing the government, he excluded Christians in his appointments, thereby encouraging many who were ambitious in their careers and lukewarm in their religious beliefs to apostatize and become pagans. Thus did Julian attempt to restore paganism in the empire, an attempt that led his bitter enemies in the Christian Church to call him the Apostate, the name by which he is known to history.

Julian spent only five months in Constantinople, leaving the capital in June 362 for Antioch and the Persian front. He never returned, for he was mortally wounded in a battle against the Persians and died on 26 June 363, after which he was buried at Tarsus. His remains were later brought back to Constantinople, where they were laid to rest in a porphyry sarcophagus in the mausoleum of the Apostoleion.

After the death of Julian, the army chose Jovian as his successor, then began the long march back to Constantinople. But Jovian never reached the capital, for during the march across Asia Minor he became ill and died, on 17 February 364.

After Jovian's death, the army marched on to Nicaea, where the commanders paused to choose a successor. They eventually agreed on Valentinian, a regimental commander of the imperial guard, who on 26 February 364 was acclaimed Augustus. The army demanded that Valentinian appoint a co-emperor to ensure a successor, and a month later, after he had led the army back to Constantinople, he nominated his younger brother Valens. Valens was acclaimed Augustus on 28 March 364 in the Hebdomon, a western suburb of Constantinople, now known as Bakırköy, at the seventh milestone from the Milion. Valentinian



12. The Aqueduct of Valens

became emperor of the West, with his capital at Milan, while Valens was to rule the East from Constantinople. Both of the brothers were devout Christians; nevertheless they kept an open mind on religious matters, continuing Julian's policy of toleration toward pagans and all sects of Christianity.

Early in the spring of 365, Valens left Constantinople to deal with a new Persian invasion of Armenia. As soon as he left the capital, a coup was staged by Procopius, Julian's cousin, who had been hiding in Chalcedon. Valens returned and put down the revolt, executing Procopius and all of his followers. He also demolished the walls of Chalcedon to punish the populace there for having supported Procopius.

The Aqueduct of Valens

Soon after crushing the revolt, Valens used the stones of Chalcedon's walls to build an aqueduct in Constantinople, which still bears his name. (This may possibly be the aqueduct that was erected during the reign of Hadrian.) According to the Byzantine chronicler George Kedronos, the aqueduct was completed in 368. The Valens Aqueduct (Fig. 12) spans the deep valley between the Third and Fourth Hills, now traversed by the highway known as Atatürk Bulvarı. The water, tapped from various streams and lakes outside the city, appears to have entered the city through subterranean pipes near the Adrianople Gate and to have flowed underground along the ridge south of the Golden Horn, from where the aqueduct carried it across the deep valley that divides the Fourth Hill from the Third. On the Third Hill, near the present site of Beyazit Meydanı, the water was received in a large cistern, the *nymphaeum maximum*, completed in 372/3, from which it was distributed to various parts of the city.

One of Julian's first acts as emperor was to execute the eunuch Eusebius, who had poisoned his uncle's mind against him. Julian also dismissed all of the other eunuchs in the imperial service as well as the superfluous servants who had been hired by Constantius. Libanius of Antioch describes those who were dismissed by Julian as follows: "There were a thousand cooks, as many barbers, and even more butlers. There were swarms of lackeys, the eunuchs were even more in number than flies around the flocks in spring, and a multitude of drones of every sort and kind." [2]

Julian then reorganized the imperial government and commissioned several public works in Constantinople, building a second senate house and a library. The second senate, which is sometimes attributed to Constantine, though probably erroneously, stood on the eastern side of the Augoustaion. The library, built in the Stoa Basilica, contained Julian's own collection of books, and by the end of the fifth century it was estimated to comprise 600,000 volumes. Julian ordered an ancient obelisk from Egypt, but it seems to have arrived after his reign had ended, to be erected in the Hippdrome in 390 by Theodosius I. Julian also dredged the harbor on the Marmara below the First Hill, and for two centuries afterwards this harbor was known as the Port of Julian.

Julian openly confessed his paganism as soon as he became emperor. A few days after his arrival in Constantinople, he issued several decrees that permitted the public performance of all religious ceremonies, pagan and Jewish as well as Christian, compensated the owners of all temple property that had been confiscated since the time of Constantine, and withdrew the subsidies that the government had been giving to the Christian clergy. He issued a further decree ordering the recall of all Christian clergy exiled for heresy or schism. When Julian was reorganizing the government, he excluded Christians in his appointments, thereby encouraging many who were ambitious in their careers and lukewarm in their religious beliefs to apostatize and become pagans. Thus did Julian attempt to restore paganism in the empire, an attempt that led his bitter enemies in the Christian Church to call him the Apostate, the name by which he is known to history.

Julian spent only five months in Constantinople, leaving the capital in June 362 for Antioch and the Persian front. He never returned, for he was mortally wounded in a battle against the Persians and died on 26 June 363, after which he was buried at Tarsus. His remains were later brought back to Constantinople, where they were laid to rest in a porphyry sarcophagus in the mausoleum of the Apostoleion.

After the death of Julian, the army chose Jovian as his successor, then began the long march back to Constantinople. But Jovian never reached the capital, for during the march across Asia Minor he became ill and died, on 17 February 364.

After Jovian's death, the army marched on to Nicaea, where the commanders paused to choose a successor. They eventually agreed on Valentinian, a regimental commander of the imperial guard, who on 26 February 364 was acclaimed Augustus. The army demanded that Valentinian appoint a co-emperor to ensure a successor, and a month later, after he had led the army back to Constantinople, he nominated his younger brother Valens. Valens was acclaimed Augustus on 28 March 364 in the Hebdomon, a western suburb of Constantinople, now known as Bakırköy, at the seventh milestone from the Milion. Valentinian



12. The Aqueduct of Valens

became emperor of the West, with his capital at Milan, while Valens was to rule the East from Constantinople. Both of the brothers were devout Christians; nevertheless they kept an open mind on religious matters, continuing Julian's policy of toleration toward pagans and all sects of Christianity.

Early in the spring of 365, Valens left Constantinople to deal with a new Persian invasion of Armenia. As soon as he left the capital, a coup was staged by Procopius, Julian's cousin, who had been hiding in Chalcedon. Valens returned and put down the revolt, executing Procopius and all of his followers. He also demolished the walls of Chalcedon to punish the populace there for having supported Procopius.

The Aqueduct of Valens

Soon after crushing the revolt, Valens used the stones of Chalcedon's walls to build an aqueduct in Constantinople, which still bears his name. (This may possibly be the aqueduct that was erected during the reign of Hadrian.) According to the Byzantine chronicler George Kedronos, the aqueduct was completed in 368. The Valens Aqueduct (Fig. 12) spans the deep valley between the Third and Fourth Hills, now traversed by the highway known as Atatürk Bulvarı. The water, tapped from various streams and lakes outside the city, appears to have entered the city through subterranean pipes near the Adrianople Gate and to have flowed underground along the ridge south of the Golden Horn, from where the aqueduct carried it across the deep valley that divides the Fourth Hill from the Third. On the Third Hill, near the present site of Beyazit Meydanı, the water was received in a large cistern, the *nymphaeum maximum,* completed in 372/3, from which it was distributed to various parts of the city.

The aqueduct was damaged at various times but was kept in good repair by both Byzantine emperors and Ottoman sultans, and it continued in use until the late nineteenth century. It was most recently restored in 1990. The arcade of the aqueduct was originally about a kilometer in length, of which some 625 meters remain standing; its maximum height, where it spans the avenue, is 28–29 meters, its maximum elevation above sea level 63.5 meters, It consists of a line of single arches at the two ends and in the middle two superimposed sets of arches, whose procession across the valley gives an imperial aspect to the skyline of the city when viewed across the Golden Horn.

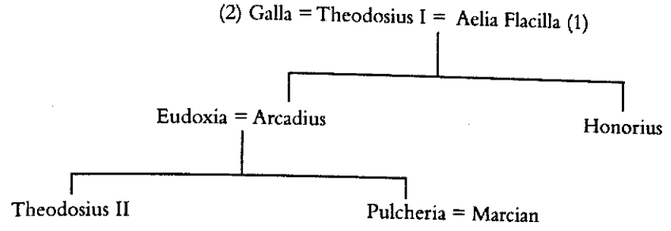
The Hebdomon

Valens also erected a number of monuments in the Hebdomon, the suburb of Constantinople where he had been acclaimed Augustus. According to the *Book of Ceremonies,* thenceforth it became customary for emperors to receive their acclamation there on being raised to the throne. This practice was generally followed until the middle of the tenth century, and during that time ten emperors in turn after Valens were elevated as emperors in the Hebdomon. The plain of the Hebdomon was used for military exercises, so that it came to be called the Campus Martius, taking its name from the ancient Field of Mars on the banks of the Tiber. The Hebdomon became an imperial country retreat, where emperors from Valens onward built a port and harbor works, a tribune, a palace, a forum, a hippodrome, several porticoes, fountains, baths, churches, and monasteries, as well as an enormous open reservoir. All that survives today is the reservoir, an impressive ruin known as Fildamı, the Elephant's House, from the tradition that the Byzantine emperors kept elephants there.

Valentinian died on 17 November 375 and was succeeded as emperor of the West by his sixteen-year-old son Gratian. Gratian's younger brother was made co-emperor as Valentinian II. Valens continued to rule in the East until 9 August 378, when he was killed by the Goths in a battle near Adrianople. The Goths then marched to Constantinople, which was saved by a detachment of Saracen troops who had recently been enlisted in the imperial service.

After Gratian learned that Valens had been killed, he found it necessary to appoint another co-emperor. He chose the Spanish general Theodosius (Fig. 13), who was acclaimed Augustus on 19 August 379; his rule extended over the eastern provinces of the empire. Theodosius made his formal entry into Constantinople on 24 November 380, leading a procession that began at the Hebdomon. Zosimus writes that "the emperor Theodosius entered Constantinople in splendor, as if in celebration of a great victory."[3]

Theodosius was a Christian, but he did not receive baptism until shortly before he arrived in Constantinople. The following year he convened the Second Ecumenical Council, which met in Constantinople and reaffirmed the Nicene Creed. The bishops also agreed that the church in Constantinople was second in the hierarchy after the bishopric of Rome; they accorded this "precedence of honor so that it [Constantinople] might be the second Rome." At the same time



13. The dynasty of Theodosius I, 379–457

the archbishop of Constantinople was given the title of patriarch, the first to hold that rank being Gregory I.

Theodosius was determined to stamp out heresies, and during his reign he issued a total of eighteen edicts against schismatic sects. He was, on the other hand, tolerant toward Jews, and on several occasions he issued orders for the rebuilding of synagogues that had been destroyed by Christians, punishing those who had demolished them. He was totally opposed to paganism; he issued several edicts banning sacrifices for divination and allowed a number of temples to be destroyed or converted into churches. The most drastic edicts against paganism were issued in 391–2, and during this time all sacrifices were prohibited and the temples throughout the empire closed to the public. Even private worship of the old pagan gods was forbidden, under the pain of severe penalties.

Gratian was assassinated in 383, and Valentinian II suffered the same fate in 392. Theodosius avenged both of their deaths, putting down and killing those who had overthrown them. His efforts culminated in his triumph over the usurper Maximus. He then marched on to Milan, where he began to make plans concerning the question of his successor. He decided to divide the empire between his two sons, with the East to be ruled by Arcadius and the West by Honorius. Both sons were at that time in Constantinople, and so Theodosius summoned Honorius to Milan, where he arrived in mid-January 395. By that time Theodosius had become seriously ill, and within a day after the arrival of Honorius, he died. The remains of Theodosius were then returned to Constantinople, to be buried in the mausoleum of the Aposteleion. He is known to history as Theodosius the Great, principally because he was the last emperor before Justinian to rule the entire Roman Empire from the western Mediterranean to the Persian frontier.

Theodosius also did a great deal to embellish the imperial capital with public buildings, as the orator Themistius noted in his encomium, remarking on the changes that had taken place since the time of Constantine:

> No longer is the vacant ground in the city more extensive than that occupied by buildings; nor are we cultivating more territory within our walls than we inhabit; the beauty of the city is not, as heretofore, scattered over it in patches, but covers its whole area like a robe woven to the very fringe. The city gleams with gold and porphyry. It has a fine Forum, named after the emperor; it owns Baths, Porticoes, Gymnasia;

14. The Serpent Column and the Egyptian Obelisk at the Hippodrome

> and its former extremity is now its center. Were Constantine to see the capital he founded he would behold a glorious and splendid scene, not a bare and empty void; he would find it fair, not with apparent but with real beauty . . . the place is full of carpenters, builders, decorators and artisans of every description, and might fitly be called a workshop of magnificence. Should the zeal of the emperor to adorn the city continue, a wider circuit will be demanded, and the question will arise whether the city added to Constantine by Theodosius is not more splendid than the city that Constantine added to Byzantium.[4]

Three of the monuments built by Theodosius can still be seen in Istanbul. These are the Egyptian Obelisk in the Hippodrome, the Forum of Theodosius, and the Golden Gate, although there is some diagreement as to whether the latter was erected by Theodosius I or his grandson Theodosius II.

The Egyptian Obelisk

The Egyptian Obelisk (Fig. 14) was originally commissioned by the pharaoh Thutmose III (r. 1549–1503 B.C.), who erected it at Deir el Bahri opposite Thebes in upper Egypt to commemorate one of his campaigns in Syria and his crossing

by the elements. At the bottom of the panel is a line of dancing maidens accompanied by three musicians.

The Forum of Theodosius

The Forum of Theodosius was on the Third Hill, on the present site of Beyazit Meydanı, where the avenue known as Ordu Caddesi leaves the western end of the square. Theodosius built it on the site of the ancient Forum Tauri, probably in the years 386–93. The remains of the forum were uncovered during road work on Ordu Caddesi at intervals in the years 1928–58.

The Forum of Theodosius was the largest of the public squares in Byzantine Constantinople. At the western end of the forum, there was a gigantic triumphal gateway (Fig. 15), with the central arched portal and its attic supported by two pairs of columns, two other pairs flanking the smaller openings on either side. The columns, surmounted by Corinthian capitals, were carved in a curious pattern of teardrops in imitation of the lopped trunk of a cypress tree. A column of this design is located in the Basilica Cistern on the First Hill, and another is in the garden of the Archaeological Museum. Fragments of several more of these columns (Fig. 16) can be seen on either side of Ordu Caddesi in Beyazit Meydanı, along with their bases, which are still *in situ*, as well as other monumental fragments of the forum.

At the center of the forum there was a commemorative column, erected in 386. The column was surmounted by a silver equestrian statue of Theodosius, while its shaft was decorated with a spiral band of reliefs showing the emperor's victories. Two fragments of the reliefs of the column are built into the bath of



14. The Serpent Column and the Egyptian Obelisk at the Hippodrome

> and its former extremity is now its center. Were Constantine to see the capital he founded he would behold a glorious and splendid scene, not a bare and empty void; he would find it fair, not with apparent but with real beauty . . . the place is full of carpenters, builders, decorators and artisans of every description, and might fitly be called a workshop of magnificence. Should the zeal of the emperor to adorn the city continue, a wider circuit will be demanded, and the question will arise whether the city added to Constantine by Theodosius is not more splendid than the city that Constantine added to Byzantium.[4]

Three of the monuments built by Theodosius can still be seen in Istanbul. These are the Egyptian Obelisk in the Hippodrome, the Forum of Theodosius, and the Golden Gate, although there is some diagreement as to whether the latter was erected by Theodosius I or his grandson Theodosius II.

The Egyptian Obelisk

The Egyptian Obelisk (Fig. 14) was originally commissioned by the pharaoh Thutmose III (r. 1549–1503 B.C.), who erected it at Deir el Bahri opposite Thebes in upper Egypt to commemorate one of his campaigns in Syria and his crossing

of the Euphrates. The obelisk appears to have been removed from Egypt to Constantinople on orders from the Emperor Julian. It was originally about 60 meters tall and weighed some 800 tons, but it broke apart, and the lower third did not survive. The remainder of the obelisk lay on the Marmara shore of the city for some years until it was finally erected on its present site by Theodosius I in 390.

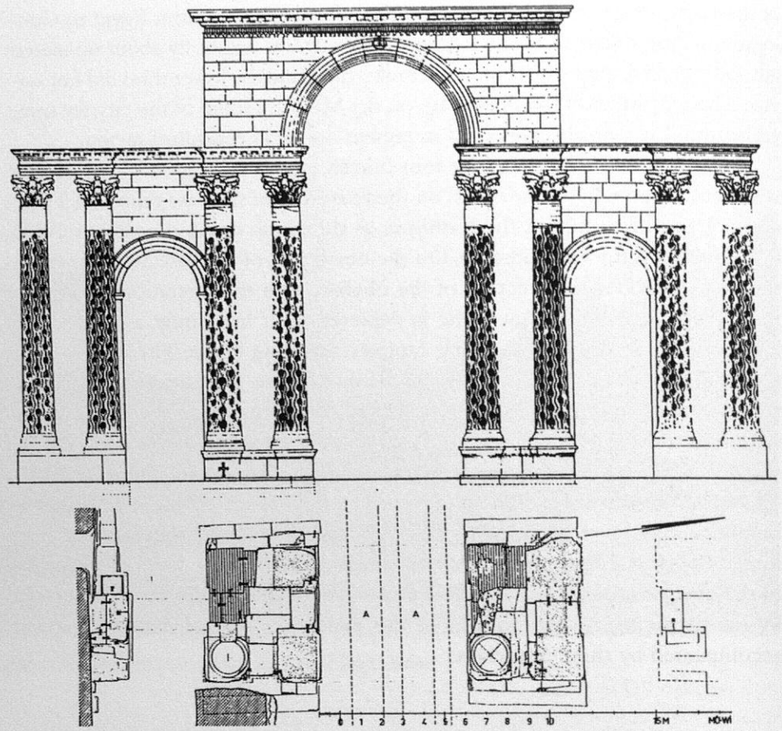
The obelisk is mounted on four brazen blocks resting on a marble base with sculptured reliefs. The reliefs on the four sides of the base represent Theodosius I and his family in the Kathisma, as they look down on various events taking place in the Hippodrome. On the north side of the base, the emperor is shown supervising the erection of the obelisk, with the operations shown on the lower block. On the west he is depicted with his family as he receives homage from a group of kneeling captives. Standing beside Theodosius is his nephew Valentinian II (r. 425–55), and flanking them are Arcadius and Honorius. Arcadius (r. 395–408) succeeded his father as emperor of the East in Constantinople, while Honorius (r. 395–423) ruled as emperor of the West. On the south side the royal family are shown watching a chariot race, and on the east (Plate IV) Theodosius is represented standing between Arcadius and Honorius, holding a laurel wreath in his hand as he prepares to crown the winning charioteer. Below the Kathisma in this last scene we can see the faces of the crowd in the Hippodrome; their faces, like those of the royal family, are badly eroded by the elements. At the bottom of the panel is a line of dancing maidens accompanied by three musicians.

The Forum of Theodosius

The Forum of Theodosius was on the Third Hill, on the present site of Beyazit Meydanı, where the avenue known as Ordu Caddesi leaves the western end of the square. Theodosius built it on the site of the ancient Forum Tauri, probably in the years 386–93. The remains of the forum were uncovered during road work on Ordu Caddesi at intervals in the years 1928–58.

The Forum of Theodosius was the largest of the public squares in Byzantine Constantinople. At the western end of the forum, there was a gigantic triumphal gateway (Fig. 15), with the central arched portal and its attic supported by two pairs of columns, two other pairs flanking the smaller openings on either side. The columns, surmounted by Corinthian capitals, were carved in a curious pattern of teardrops in imitation of the lopped trunk of a cypress tree. A column of this design is located in the Basilica Cistern on the First Hill, and another is in the garden of the Archaeological Museum. Fragments of several more of these columns (Fig. 16) can be seen on either side of Ordu Caddesi in Beyazit Meydanı, along with their bases, which are still *in situ*, as well as other monumental fragments of the forum.

At the center of the forum there was a commemorative column, erected in 386. The column was surmounted by a silver equestrian statue of Theodosius, while its shaft was decorated with a spiral band of reliefs showing the emperor's victories. Two fragments of the reliefs of the column are built into the bath of

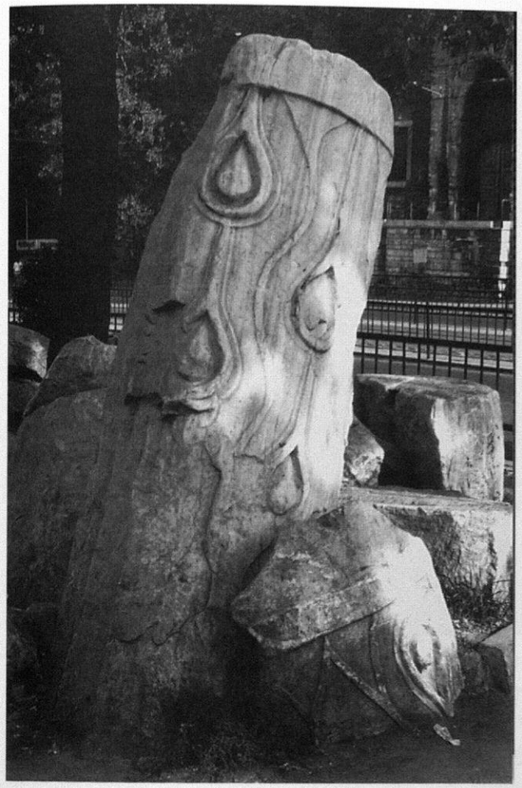


15. Plan and reconstruction of the triumphal arch in the Forum of Theodosius I (from Müller-Weiner)

Beyazit II. Both fragments show ranks of marching Roman soldiers. One of the sculptures is set upside down, so that the troops seem to be standing on their heads. Other fragments of the relief are now on display in the Archaeological Museum.

The Golden Gate

The Golden Gate (Fig. 17), known in Latin as Porta Aurea and in Greek as Chryse Pyle, is built into the ancient city walls some 600 meters north of the Marmara shore. One theory is that Theodosius I erected the Golden Gate *c.* 390 and that Theodosius II incorporated the gateway into his fortifications, the Theodosian Walls, which he erected in the first half of the fifth century. Another view, which is now the majority opinion, is that the gateway was erected by Theodosius II when he built the Theodosian Walls. After the Turkish conquest of 1453, the Golden Gate was made part of a fortress known as Yedikule, the Castle of the Seven Towers. The seven eponymous towers consist of four incorporated into the Theodosian Walls, plus three additional towers built inside the walls by Mehmet II, who connected them with curtain walls to form a five-sided enclosure. The two central towers in the Theodosian Walls are marble pylons flanking the Golden Gate,

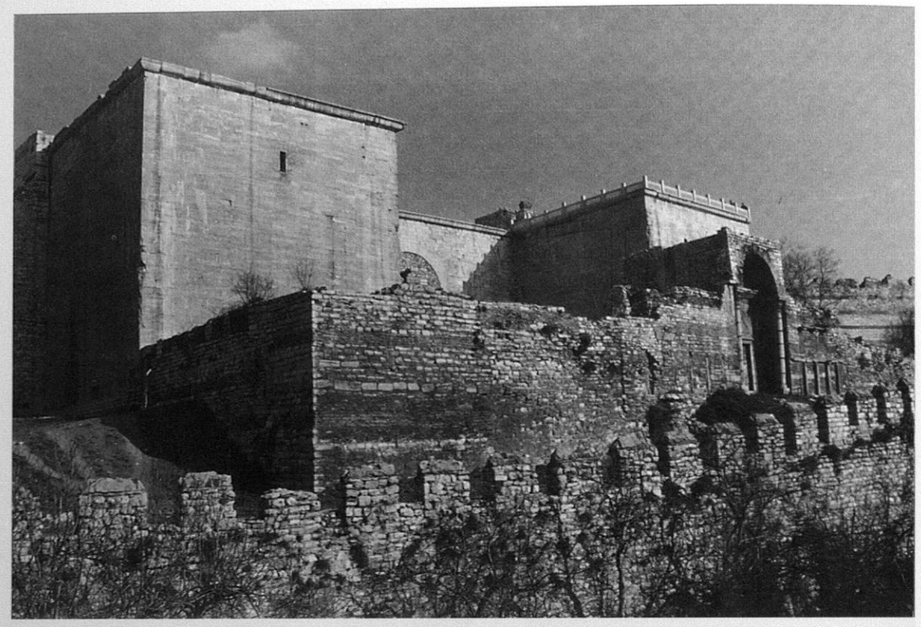


16. Fragments of the Arch of Theodosius I

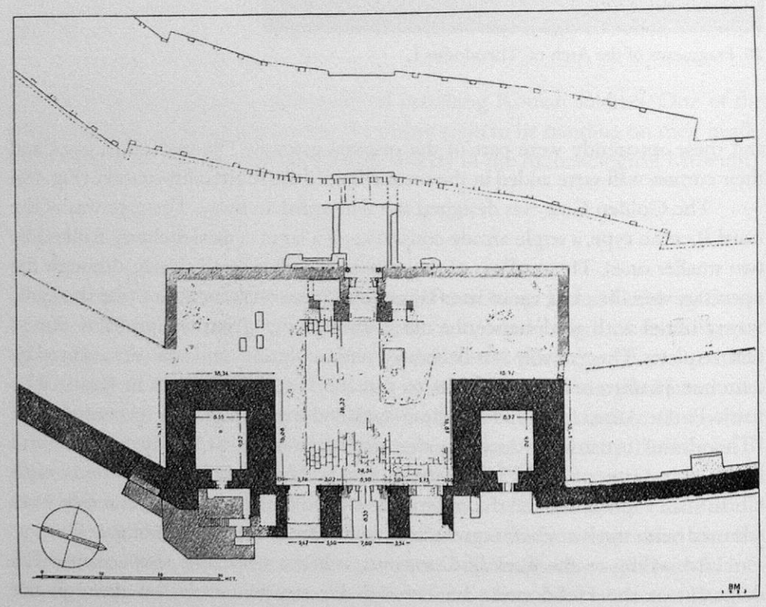
and these apparently were part of the original gateway. The two outer gates and their curtain wall were added in the second half of the fourteenth century (Fig. 18).

The Golden Gate was designed as a triumphal archway. The gate was of the usual Roman type, a triple arcade consisting of a large central archway flanked by two smaller ones. The outlines of the arches can still be seen clearly, although the openings were bricked up in later Byzantine times. Malalas writes that the gateway glittered with gold–hence the name–though the gleam was probably due to bronze plates. The gateway was decorated with sculptures and was surmounted by a bronze *quadriga* of four elephants, as was the Porta Triumphalis in Rome. The name Portae Aurea appeared in a now-vanished inscription over its central arch: "Theodosius ornaments this gate after the suppression of the Tyrant. He who builds this Gate of Gold brings back the Golden Age." Two columns with Corinthian capitals flanked the outer gateway, while the walls on either side were adorned with twelve reliefs representing scenes from Greek mythology.

According to the *Book of Ceremonies,* when a new ruler was acclaimed as Augustus at the Hebdomon, he entered the city in procession through the Golden Gate, where the city authorities and the populace waited to welcome



17. The Golden Gate



18. Plan of the Golden Gate (from Bardill)

him, and the same procedure was followed when an emperor returned to the capital after a triumphal campaign.

The death of Theodosius I left the Roman Empire divided once again, with the East ruled by his older son Arcadius, who was then not quite eighteen, and the West by his younger son Honorius, who was only ten. Theodosius had made provisions for the succession by appointing advisors for his two young sons. He left Arcadius to the care of Rufinus, praetorian prefect of the East, while Honorius was put in the charge of Stilicho, magister militum in the West. Both advisors took advantage of their positions to enrich themselves and and increase their power, to the detriment of the empire.

Stilicho strengthened his hold over Honorius by arranging to have his daughter Maria marry the young emperor in 398. Then, when Maria died a decade later, he arranged for her younger sister Thermantia to marry Honorius. Rufinus also had dynastic ambitions, and he made plans to marry off his daughter to Arcadius. But his scheme was thwarted by the grand chamberlain Eutropius, a eunuch, who introduced Arcadius to a beautiful young girl named Eudoxia, daughter of a Frankish general and a Roman mother. Arcadius immediately fell in love with Eudoxia and married her on 27 April 395, just three months after he became emperor of the East. During the remaining nine years of her short life, Eudoxia bore Arcadius four daughters and a son, the future Theodosius II, who was born in Constantinople on 10 April 401.

Eudoxia soon became the power behind the throne, and on 9 January 400 Arcadius crowned her as Augusta. Eudoxia appears to have had little regard for Arcadius, and she was believed to have had several lovers, most notably the emperor's chief advisor, John, who was rumored to be the real father of her son Theodosius. Eudoxia's behavior eventually brought her into conflict with the patriarch John Chrysostom, who in his sermons condemned the immorality of the imperial court.

The conflict came to a climax on 20 June 404, when Arcadius ordered that Chrysostom be sent into exile after he had criticized the empress for erecting a statue of herself beside Hagia Sophia. (The base of this statue, inscribed with the name of Eudoxia, was rediscovered in the mid-nineteenth century and now stands in the garden of Hagia Sophia.) When the populace learned that their beloved patriarch had been banished, they rioted at the gates of the Great Palace, starting a fire that destroyed both Hagia Sophia and the senate at the east end of the Augoustaion.

Eudoxia died in childbirth on 6 October 404, after which she was buried in the mausoleum of the Holy Apostles. Arcadius survived Eudoxia by three and a half years, dying on 1 May 408, at the age of thirty. He was laid to rest beside his wife in the Apostoleion.

The Column of Arcadius

The only monument in the city surviving from the reign of Arcadius is on the Marmara slope of the Seventh Hill. This was a commemorative column that Arcadius erected in honor of his father, Theodosius I, in 403. It stood in the center of a forum that Arcadius built along the branch of the Mese that led to the

Golden Gate. The monument was about forty meters high, including a base nine meters high and six meters wide standing on a three-stepped pedestal. Theodosius II placed a statue of his father Arcadius on top of the column in 421, and it remained there until it was toppled during a storm in 740. The column itself was demolished in 1719 when it seemed in danger of falling on the surrounding houses. Only the base now remains, wedged in between an old wooden house and the entrance to a garage.

The shaft of the column, made of thirty-two stacked marble drums, was four meters in diameter and had inside a spiral staircase that led to a viewing platform near the summit. The column was decorated with spiral bands of sculpture in relief, similar to those on Trajan's Column in Rome, showing events from the lives of Theodosius I and Arcadius. A bit of this relief can be seen on the short remnant of the column that remains above the base, and two fragments are preserved in the Instanbul Archaeological Museum.

~

Arcadius was succeeded by his son Theodosius II, who was then seven years old. During the first six years of his reign, Theodosius was placed under the guidance of his late father's most trusted advisor, Anthemius, *praetorian prefect* of the East, who governed the empire as regent until his death in 414.

The Theodosian Church of Hagia Sophia

During the regency of Anthemius, a new church of Hagia Sophia (Plate V) was erected to replace the one that had been destroyed in 404, an edifice now referred to as the Theodosian church. Anthemius died before the new church of Hagia Sophia was dedicated by the Patriarch Atticus on 10 October 415. The Theodosian church was destroyed during the Nika Revolt in 532, to be replaced by the present edifice, completed by Justinian in 537. Excavations by the German archaeologist Alfons Maria Schneider in 1935 unearthed the monumental entrance portico of the Theodosian church in the garden of the present Hagia Sophia. These remains are described in the chapter on Justinian's church of Hagia Sophia.

After the death of Anthemius, the role of regent passed to the princess Pulcheria, the eldest of the emperor's three surviving sisters, who was then fifteen, two years older than her brother Theodosius. Pulcheria, who thereupon received the title of Augusta, acted as regent until 416, when Theodosius attained his majority. Nevertheless, Pulcheria continued to be the power behind the throne for the next decade. Pulcheria had taken a public vow of chastity at the age of sixteen, and no male was allowed to enter her apartments in the Great Palace. As a consequence, during her regency the court was said to have resembled a convent. It was there that she supervised her brother's education, and through her he developed a lifelong interest in science as well as theology, devoting more time to his studies than to affairs of state. He spent much of his time illuminating manuscripts, and his superb script earned him the name Theodosius the Calligrapher. Because of his slight stature, he was also known, even in his mature years, as Little Theodosius; the

chronicler John Antiochenus notes that "he grew up to no great size, because he was shut up in the palace."[5]

When Theodosius came of age, he asked Pulcheria to find him a suitable wife. The woman she chose was the beautiful and learned Athenais, daughter of the Athenian philosopher Leontius. Athenais, who at the time of her marriage took the Christian name Eudocia, bore Theodosius two children: a son named Arcadius, who died in infancy, and a daughter, Licinia Eudoxia, who at the age of fifteen was espoused to Valentinian III, emperor of the West. Valentinian's mother was Galla Placidia, a daughter of Theodosius I. Valentinian had become emperor in 425, two years before the death of Honorius. He ruled until 455, and for most of that time the power behind the throne was his mother, the Augusta Galla Placidia. Though she moved to Ravenna when her son became emperor, Placidia continued to maintain her palace in Constantinople. There it is listed as being in Region I of the city in the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, a description of the capital written *c.* 447–50 (Fig. 19).

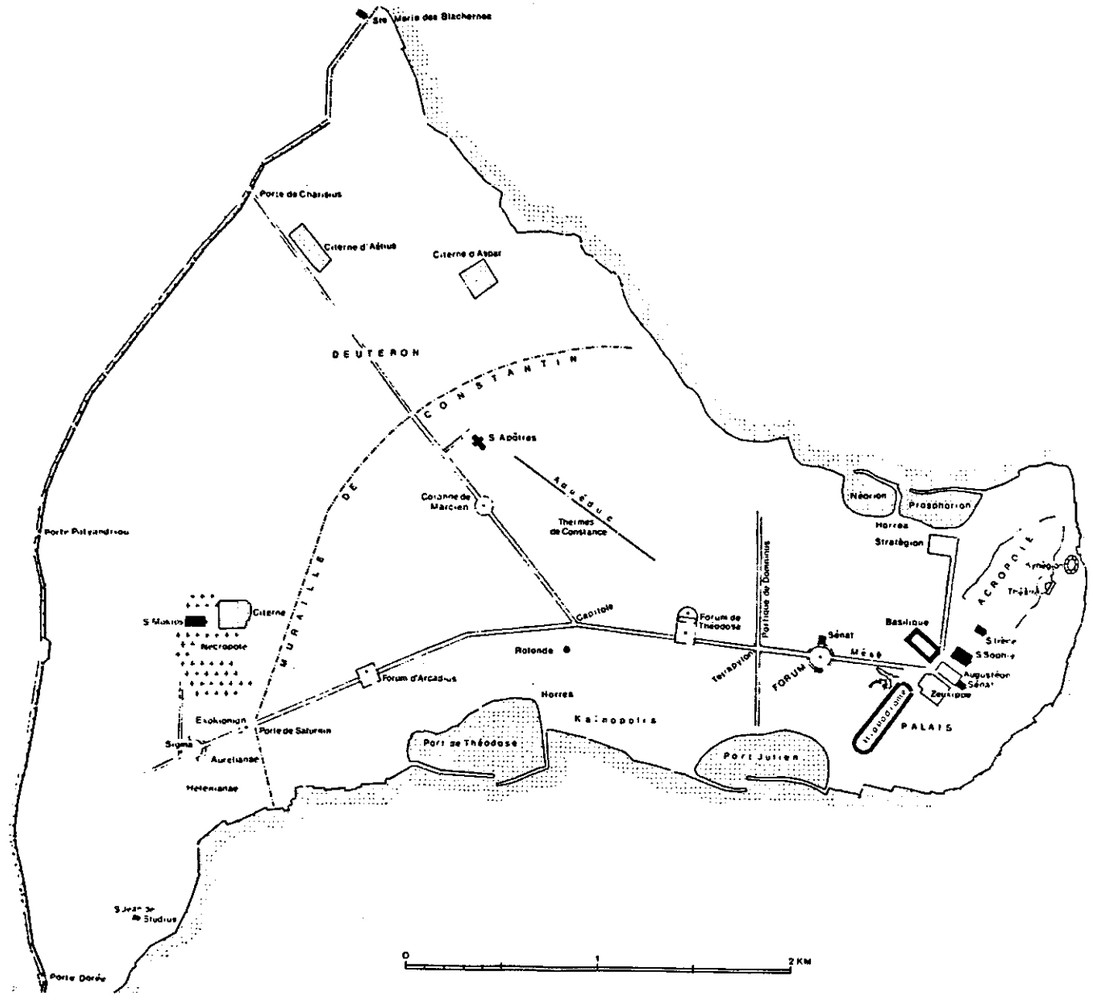
The Theodosian Walls

By the time that the *Notitia* was written, the enclosed area of Constantinople had reached its geographical limit with the construction of the Theodosian Walls. The first phase of these fortifications was completed in 413 under the direction of the Prefect Anthemius, who built a new line of defensive walls between the Marmara and the Golden Horn, laying them out in a great arc a mile to a mile and a half farther out into Thrace than the Constantinian Walls, which were thereupon abandoned and fell into ruins. But then in 447 a series of severe earthquakes badly damaged the fortifications, destroying fifty-seven defense towers in the Theodosian Walls. This happened at a critical time, for Attila the Hun was advancing on Constantinople with his Golden Horde. Reconstruction of the Walls began immediately under the direction of the new prefect of the East, Constantine. The circus factions of the Hippodrome worked together on the construction, and within two months the walls had been rebuilt and were stronger than before, forcing Attila to redirect his invasion toward the western regions of the empire. The extraordinarily rapid rebuilding of the walls is commemorated by inscriptions in Greek and Latin on one of the portals of the Theodosian Walls, the Gate of Rhegium: "By the command of Theodosius, Constantine erected these strong walls in less than two months. Scarcely could Pallas [Athena] herself have built so strong a citadel in so short a span."

The Theodosian Walls originally extended from the Sea of Marmara to the shore of the Golden Horn, a distance of about four miles (6.44 kilometers). Near the Golden Horn, the Theodosian Walls may have joined with the fortifications of an earlier citadel that enclosed the Blachernai quarter. In later centuries, the last stretch of wall leading down to the Golden Horn was replaced by other fortifications that curved somewhat farther out into Thrace (Fig. 20).

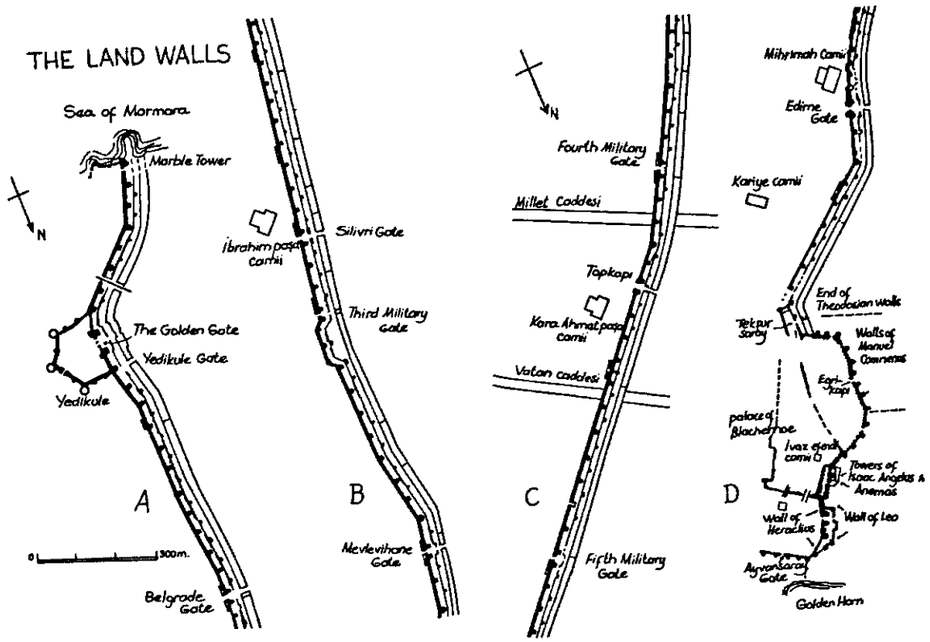
The Theodosian defense works consisted of two lines of fortifications, the inner and outer walls, each studded with massive defense towers. The main element in the defense system was the inner wall, which was about five meters thick at the base and rose to a height of twelve meters above the ground inside the city. The

Bibliothek des Historischen



19. Plan of the Theodosian City (from Mango)

parapet walk was protected on its outer side by merlons about two meters high, with small cross walls between the towers. The inner wall was guarded by ninety-six towers, eighteen to twenty-three meters high, at intervals of about sixty meters. Seventy-six of the towers were square in cross-section, while twenty were polygonal. Each tower was generally divided into two floors, which did not communicate with each other. The lower chambers, which were used either for storage or as guardhouses, were roofed with brick vaults and had narrow loopholes open to the outside through large arches. Many of them had posterns, usually on the north side, opening on to the terrace between the inner and outer walls. The upper rooms were entered from the parapet walk, which communicated by staircases with the ground and with the tops of the towers. Each of them had eight embrasures, two

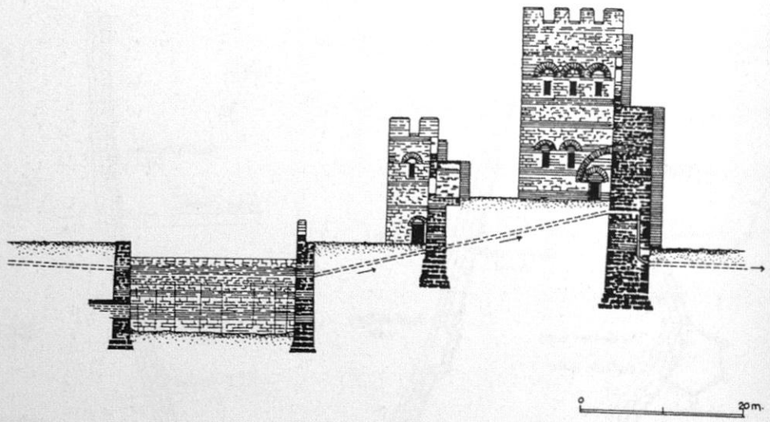


20. Plan of the land walls (from Van Millingen)

in the front and three on each side. These were used for the emplacement of the war engines known as *ballistae,* which fired iron bolts through the embrasures, while the stone-throwing catapaults called *mangonel* were installed on the crenellated tops of the towers, along with the smaller pieces known as *onager.*

Between the inner and outer walls was a terrace called the *peribolos,* which varied from 15 to 20 meters in breadth, and whose level was about 5 meters above that of the inner city. The outer wall, which was about 2 meters thick and 8.5 meters in height, also had ninety-six towers, alternating in position with those of the inner wall. In general, these were about 15 meters high and about 5 meters wide, either square or crescent-shaped in turn. Beyond the outer wall was an outer terrace called the *parateichion,* bounded on the outside by the counterscarp of the moat, which was a battlement nearly 2 meters high. The moat itself was originally about 10 meters deep and 20 meters wide, and may have been flooded whenever the city was threatened. It was divided at regular intervals by stone dams, which prevented the water from flowing down the slopes on which the moat was built, and it was crossed by wooden bridges at the approaches to the main city gates (Figs. 21, 22).

The Theodosian Walls were pierced by ten gates and a few small posterns. Five of the ten gates were public entryways to the city, and the other five were used only by the military. The distinction was not so much in their structure as in the fact that the public gates had bridges over the moat leading to the country beyond, whereas four of the five military gates did not but gave access only to the fortifications. Both types of entryways were double gates, since they passed through both the inner and

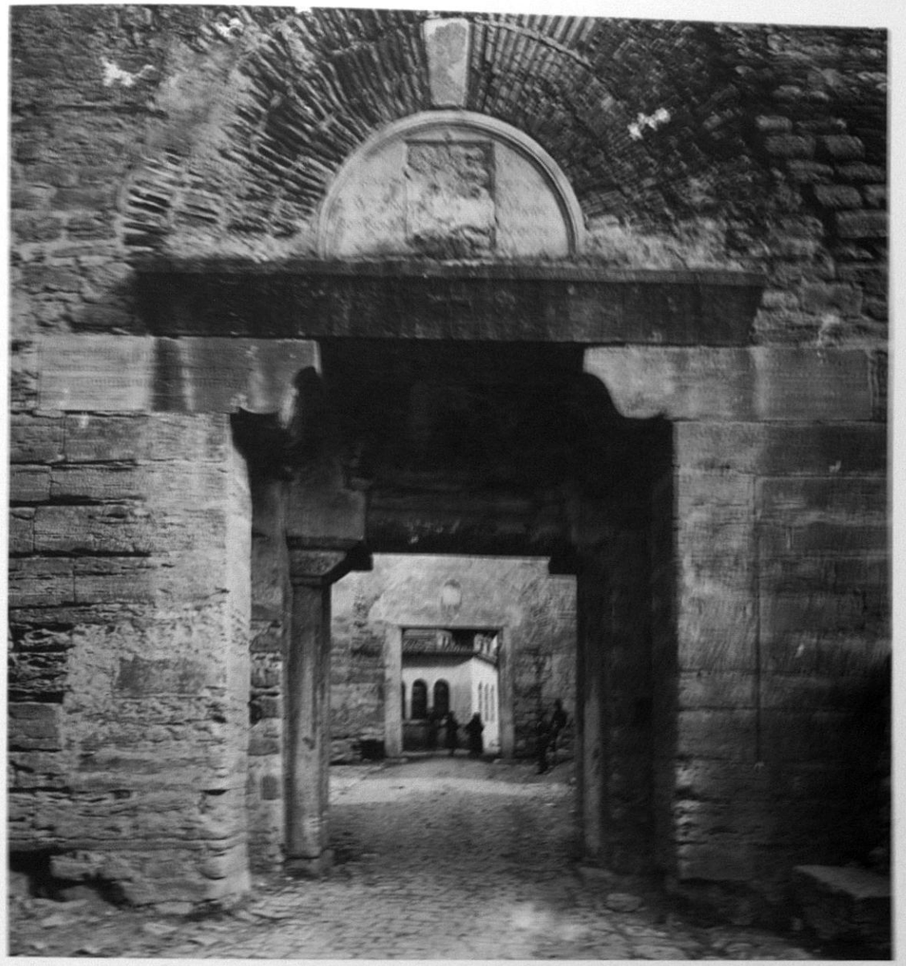


21. Cross-section of the Theodosian Walls (from Van Millingen)



22. The Theodosian Walls

outer walls. The inner portal was the principal entryway, guarded by a pair of flanking towers that projected well beyond the curtain wall so as to provide a flanking fire and also to protect the outer gate. The public and military gates alternated with one another in position along the walls. The first were identified by proper names, the latter merely by numbers. Beginning at the Sea of Marmara, they are as follows (the Turkish names for those that have one are given in parentheses):



23. The Gate of Rhegium (Yenimevlevihane Kapı)

The First Military Gate, also known as the Gate of Christ.
The Golden Gate.
A postern (Yedikule Kapı) north of the Golden Gate that served as the public entrance to the city.
The Second Military Gate (Belgrad Kapı), which doubled as a public gate and was approached by a bridge over the moat.
The Gate of the Pege (Silivri Kapı), so called because it led to the sacred shrine of the Zoodokos Pege, the Life-Giving Spring.
The Third Military Gate.
The Gate of Rhegium (Fig. 23) (Yeni Mevlevihane Kapı).
The Fourth Military Gate.

The Gate of St. Romanos (Topkapı).
The Fifth Military Gate (Hücüm Kapısı).
The Gate of Charisius, also known as the Gate of the Polyandraion and as the Adrianople Gate (Edirne Kapı).
The Porta Xylokerkou, the Gate of the Wooden Circus, a postern at the end of the Theodosian Walls, where they reach Tekfursarayı.

Other notable features include the Marble Tower, an impressive structure that stands at the point where the Theodosian Walls joined the sea walls along the Marmara. This tower, which stands on a little promontory projecting into the sea, is thirteen meters square at its base and thirty meters high, its lower half faced in marble. The Marble Tower is like no other structure in the Byzantine fortifications and may have been part of an imperial sea pavilion. Urs Peschlow's studies indicate that the tower was converted into a fortified residence in the Late Byzantine period, probably in the first half of the fifteenth century. The ruins beside the tower seem to indicate that it was part of a small castle. Beyond the tower there are the sunken remains of a mole that must have been part of the castle harbor.

Thirty inscriptions on the towers, gates, and curtain walls record repairs to the Byzantine land walls ranging over a period of more than a thousand years. These walls were never breached until the city fell to the Ottoman Turks on 29 May 1453, after a seven-week siege in which parts of the land walls were badly damaged, particularly in the valley of the Lycus River, where the Turkish gunners could fire down on the defenders. Further damage has been done since then by the elements and by earthquakes, the most recent being the tremor of 17 August 1999, which destroyed the tower on the south side of Edirne Kapı. Although most of the inner defense wall and its massive bastions are relatively intact, many of the towers are split and shattered or have half-tumbled to the ground. The outer walls have been almost completely obliterated, and the fragmentary remains of only about half of its towers can still be seen. A government program during the 1990s restored long sections of the Theodosian Walls, but in several sections the work was poorly done, using cement that will cause damage to the original building materials. In any event, one can now at least see the whole cross-section of the defense works–the inner and outer walls, the peribolos and parateichion, the moat and its counterscarp–fortifications that for a thousand years protected Byzantium.

The Theodosian Walls enclosed seven hills, three more than in the city of Constantine. Thus Constantinople now had the same number of hills as Old Rome, a matter of great symbolic importance in establishing it as the new imperial capital. The *Notitia* records that the city of Theodosius II was divided into fourteen regions, again the same number as in Old Rome. Twelve of these regions were within the area that had been bounded by the Walls of Constantine; the thirteenth was across the Golden Horn in Sykae, the present Galata, and it corresponded to the region beyond the Tiber in Rome; while the fourteenth comprised Blachernai, where the Byzantine land walls slope down from the summit of the Sixth Hill to the Golden Horn.

Most of the area between the bounds of the old Constantinian city and the Theodosian Walls was sparsely inhabited at first. The newly added territory was

used initially for the construction of monasteries and of three enormous open reservoirs. The latter were part of the Roman hydraulic system of dams and aqueducts outside Constantinople and of reservoirs, cisterns, water control towers, and conduits within the city limits, all necessitated by the rapid growth of the city in the century after Constantine. Also, as Cyril Mango has pointed out, "[T]he Roman Imperial period . . . was one of extravagant use of water owing to the prevalence of luxurious public baths and constantly flowing fountains."[6] Some of the elements of this ancient water-supply system remained in use until the nineteenth century, its enduring Roman contribution to the city.

The Cistern of Aetius

The first of these reservoirs was the open Cistern of Aetius, a huge structure on the Sixth Hill near the Adrianople Gate. The cistern was built c. 421 by Aetius, who at the time was prefect of Constantinople. Huge as it is, it is yet the smallest of the three Roman reservoirs that remain in the city, measuring 224 by 85 meters. Its original depth probably about 15 meters. Like the others, it was already dry in late Byzantine times and was used as a kitchen garden up into the mid-twentieth century; now it serves as a football stadium. Its Byzantine brick walls can still be seen from Fevzi Paşa Caddesi (named for Field Marshal Fevzi Çakmak, grandfather of one of the authors), the avenue that runs along its southern side, following the course of the branch of the ancient Mese that led to the Adrianople Gate.

The Cistern of Aspar

The second of the Roman reservoirs is on the summit of the Fifth Hill, just to the west of the Mosque of Sultan Selim I. This was constructed by Aspar, a Gothic general who served under Theodosius II. It was the second largest of the three reservoirs, measuring 152 meters on a side, its original depth about 10 meters. Up until the late 1970s the cistern was the site of a picturesque village whose houses and treetops barely reached the level of the surrounding streets. But then all of the village, except for its mosque, was demolished to make way for a parking lot. Until recently, one could still see part of cistern's original construction: courses of stone and brick, with shallow arches on the interior surfaces.

The Cistern of Pulcheria

Near the southeast corner of the Cistern of Aspar, at the corner of Yavuz Selim Caddesi and Ali Naki Sokağı, there is a handsome underground cistern dating from the mid-fifth century. The roof of the cistern is supported by a colonnade of marble monoliths topped with Corinthian capitals and impost blocks. Tradition ascribes the cistern to the empress Pulcheria, though there is no confirming evidence. The cistern has recently been restored and is now open to the public.

The Cistern of St. Mocius

The last of the three Roman reservoirs is on the summit of the Seventh Hill. This is known as the Cistern of St. Mocius, from a famous church of that name that stood in the vicinity, said to have been founded by Constantine the Great. The cistern was built in the late fifth or early sixth century. Like the other surviving Roman reservoirs, it fell into disuse in the later Byzantine period. It has recently been converted into a playground known as the Fatih Educational Park.

The Cistern of St. Mocius is the largest of the three surviving Roman reservoirs. It is a vast rectangle measuring 170 meters by 147 meters on the inside, its walls are 6 meters thick, and its present depth ranges from 10 to 15 meters. The walls are of good late Roman construction, composed of brick, alternating both inside and outside with beds of dressed stone.

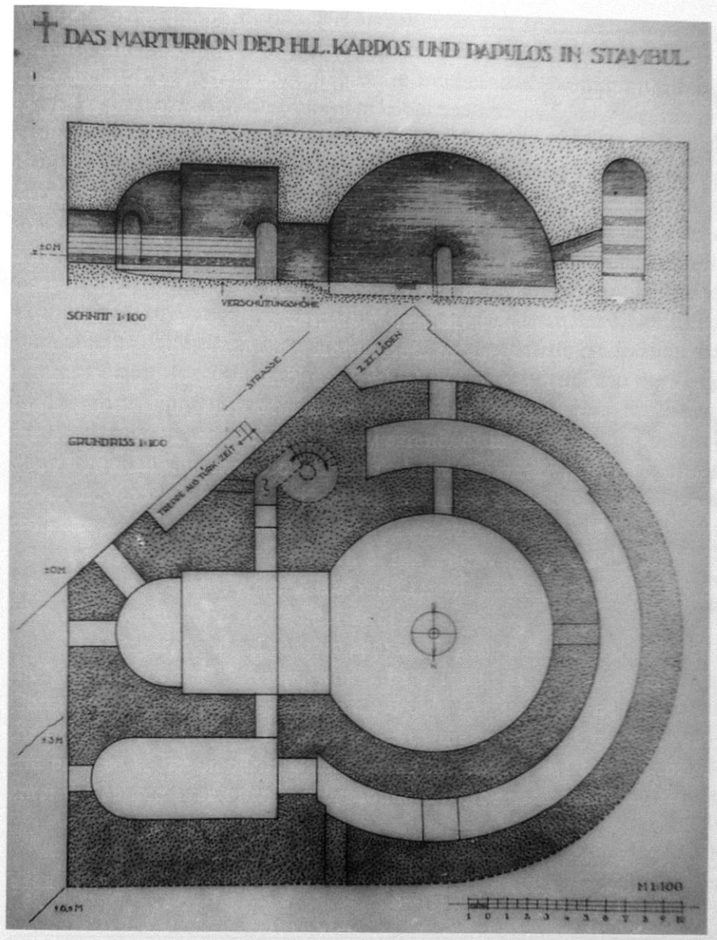
The Martyrium of SS. Carpus and Papylus

On the Marmara shore of the Seventh Hill there is a late Roman monument that may date from the reign of Theodosius II. The monument, comprising some ancient substructures, is beneath the Greek Orthodox church of St. Menas on the heights above but is in no way connected with it.

These substructures, discovered in 1935 by Alfons Maria Schneider, have been identified as the crypt of the Martyrium of SS. Carpus and Papylus (Fig. 24), dedicated to two martyrs who perished during the Decian persecutions in 250–51. The crypt consists of a large circular domed chamber reminiscent of the tholos tombs at Mycenae, only constructed of brick rather than stone, in the excellent late Roman technique of the fourth and fifth centuries. At the east end there is a side chapel that opens into an annular corridor that extends around the periphery of the central chamber, its outer diameter measuring some twenty-five meters. The structure has been dated to the early fifth century.

Theological disputes continued to trouble the empire during the reign of Theodosius II, just as they had during the controversy over Arianism in the previous century. A new religious controversy now arose concerning the nature of Christ and the question of his human and divine natures. The followers of Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople, held that the two separate natures coexisted in Christ, and they also believed that the Virgin Mary was not the Mother of God but simply the Mother of Christ the man. The Third Ecumenical Council, convened at Ephesus on 7 June 431, condemned Nestorianism as heretical, whereupon Theodosius deposed Nestorius and exiled him to Egypt, where he died *c.* 452.

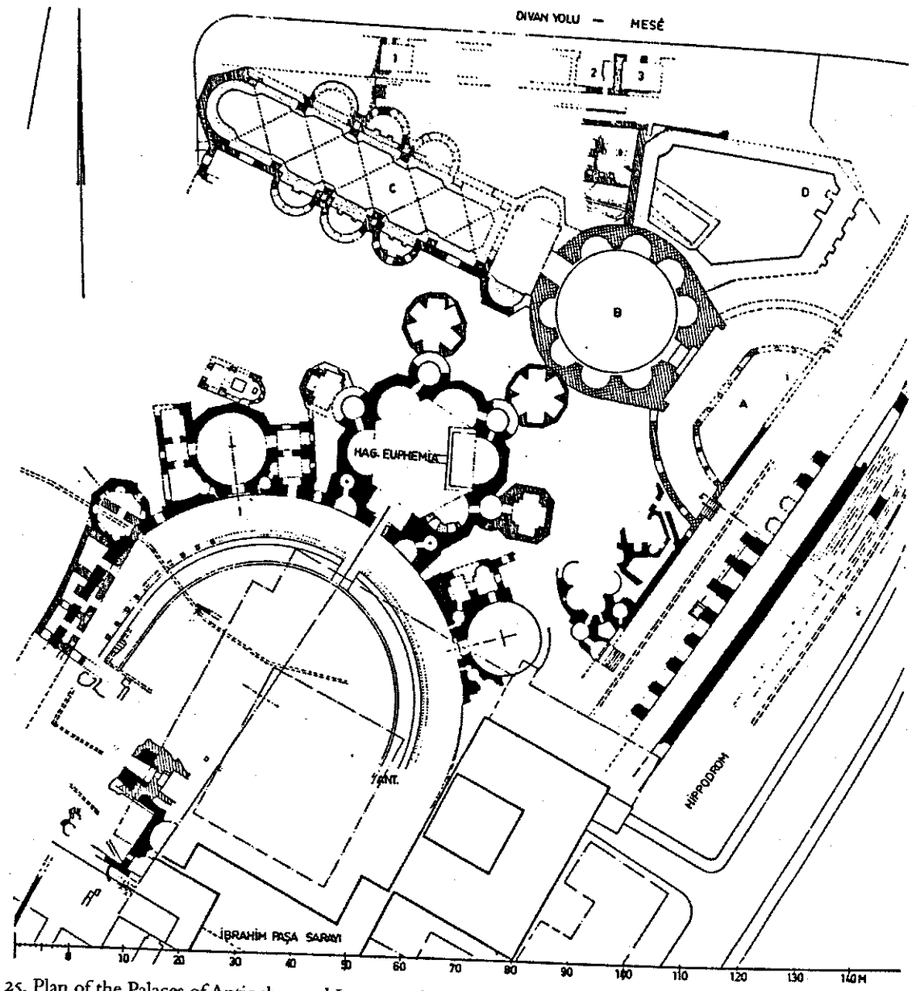
The principal achievement in government during the reign of Theodosius II was the *Codex Theodosianus,* published in 438, the Roman Empire's first official collection of laws. The code included only laws enacted since the reign of Constantine I, when Christianity had been introduced into the legal system.



24. Plan of the Martyrium of SS. Carpus and Papylus (from the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul)

The Palaces of Antiochus and Lausus

Construction work in 1939 in the immediate vicinity of the northwest corner of the Hippodrome revealed the remains of an early Byzantine church, subsequently identified as a martyrium of St. Euphemia of Chalcedon (Fig. 25). When Alfons Maria Schneider excavated the site in 1942, he discovered a structure consisting of a triclinium hall of hexagonal shape opening off a large semicircular portico. This structure was further excavated in 1951–52 by R. Duyuran, who identified it from an inscription as the Palace of Antiochus, a eunuch who had served in the Great Palace in the years 402–39. The palace flanked the western side of the Hip-



25. Plan of the Palaces of Antiochus and Lausus and of the Martyrium of St. Euphemia (from Müller-Weiner)

podrome at the northern end of the arena. Stamped bricks unearthed during the excavations indicate that the palace was probably built in the years 416–18, although the years 431–33 are also possible.

The semicircular courtyard of the palace, known as a *sigma*, had an outside diameter of sixty meters, and there was a domed entryway at its center. The courtyard was surrounded by an arcaded stoa that gave access to all the rooms of the palace, which were arrayed around the periphery of the court. These rooms opened off five domed reception halls, the largest being the hexagonal triclinium hall on the axis of symmetry, flanked by two pairs of successively smaller chambers, the first of them circular and the second hexagonal. The triclinium hall,

which was revetted in marble, had five semicircular apses with circular rooms between them, the sixth side containing the entryway.

Duyuran's excavation also unearthed another structure just to the northeast of the hexagonal hall of the Palace of Antiochus, a rotunda 20 meters in diameter, with a semicircular entrance portico at the east end. Then in 1964 R. Naumann excavated a great elongated structure, 52.5 meters long and 12.4 meters wide, with three semicircular niches on each side and a semicircular apse at the west end, extending from the rotunda to Divan Yolu, the avenue that follows the first stretch of the ancient Mese. This was identified by a number of authorities as the Palace of Lausus, a eunuch who had served as grand chamberlain under Theodosius II up until 422 and perhaps again a decade later. But Jonathan Bardill, in an article published in 1997, questioned this identification, suggesting that the Palace of Lausus was on the other side of the Mese and farther to the west, near the Forum of Constantine. The Palace of Lausus was renowned for the ancient Greek statuary that it contained, including works by Praxiteles, Lysippus, and Phidias, the latter represented by his famous statue of Zeus that had stood in Olympia, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. The remains of both palaces can still be seen in the park along the south side of Divan Yolu to the northwest of the Hippodrome.

The Binbirdirek Cistern

The first side street to the left off Divan Yolu, just to the west of the two palaces, leads to the entrance of Binbirdirek Sarnıçı, the Cistern of a Thousand and One Columns. This is the second largest of the city's ancient subterranean cisterns, surpassed in size only by the Basilica Cistern. Pierre Gilles identified this as the Cistern of Philoxenus, named for one of the senators brought from Rome by Constantine the Great after he founded Constantinople. But Jonathan Bardill, in the article mentioned in the preceding section, questions this identification. He suggests instead that the Cistern of Philoxenus was on the other side of the Mese and closer to the Forum of Constantine and that part of its eastern wall is still visible along the west side of Babıali Caddesi.

The Binbirdirek Cistern measures 64 by 56.4 meters, only about a third the area of the Basilica Cistern. The domical groin vaults are supported by 224 double columns in sixteen rows of 14 each, though 12 of these columns have been walled in, evidently from very early times. The columns consist of two shafts joined together by a drum, the lower shaft being sunk 4.8 meters in the mud. The total height of the double columns is 12.4 meters, and the height to the top of the domes is about 14.5 meters. The impost capitals are plain but generally inscribed with monograms of the stone masons. The cistern has been dated to the mid-fifth century, though some authorities place it in the early sixth century. The cistern has now been converted into a shopping arcade, and insertion of a mezzanine floor has diminished the grandeur of the structure, since only the columns at the center are visible at their full height.

Cistern of Theodosius II

There is another ancient cistern some 50 meters to the west of Binbirdirek, with its entrance on Piyer Loti Caddesi one block south of Divan Yolu. The sign at the entrance identifies it as the Theodosius Cistern; it has been dated to the second quarter of the fifth century, placing it in the reign of Theodosius II. Its little brick vaults are supported by thirty-two columns in four rows of eight each; the columns have Corinthian capitals and high impost blocks.

Theodosius II ruled for forty-two years, a period during which the city took on the form that it would have for the remainder of the Byzantine period. He died at the age of forty-nine on 28 July 450, after falling from his horse while riding outside the city along the banks of the Lycus River. After lying in state in the Great Palace, he was buried in the the Church of the Holy Apostles. Theodosius is remembered today principally for his legal code, the *Codex Theodosianus,* and also for the great walls that bear his name, the bulwark of Constantinople for more than a thousand years.



4

The Late Roman City

The third quarter of the fifth century was a chaotic period in the history of the Roman Empire. During that time ten rulers followed one another as emperors of the West, the tenth being Romulus Augustulus, who was overthrown in 476. He was to be the last Augustus in the West, and thenceforth the emperor in Constantinople was sole ruler of what remained of the Roman Empire.

Theodosius II was succeeded by Marcian, a retired military officer who had been Aspar's *domesticus,* or aide-de-camp. Pulcheria added legitimacy to the succession by agreeing to wed Marcian, but only as his nominal wife, for she had renewed her vow of chastity.

Marcian began his reign, in 450, by refusing to pay any more tribute money to Attila, a practice that had begun under Theodosius II. He was then able to reduce the heavy taxes that had been imposed by his predecessor, thereby gaining great popularity.

The following year, Marcian convened the Fourth Ecumenical Council, which met at the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon in October 451. The council set forth the orthodox doctrine in what came to be known as the "Definition of Chalcedon," which held that the two natures of Christ, human and divine, were amalgamated in one person, Jesus. Those who opposed this doctrine were known as the Monophysites, from their belief that Christ had but a single nature, which was divine.

Pulcheria died in July 453, and she was buried in the Apostleion. She was the last of her line to hold the title of Augusta, ending the dynasty that had begun with her grandfather Theodosius the Great. Pulcheria is revered as a saint in the Greek Orthodox Church, her feast days celebrated on 10 September and 11 July.

During the last years of her life, Pulcheria founded three churches in Constantinople. One of these, dedicated to the Virgin Hodegitria, the One Who Shows the Way, has disappeared. The other two survive, in a sense, though one is just a fragmentary ruined shell, while the other lives on only through its associated shrine, the original church having long since vanished.





26. Ruins of the Church of the Theotokos in Chalkoprateia

The Church of the Theotokos in Chalkoprateia

This church (Fig. 26) was built by Pulcheria to enshrine the Holy Girdle of the Virgin, which had been sent from Jerusalem by her sister-in-law, the empress Eudocia. (It has been suggested that Pulcheria founded the church during the reign of Marcian and that it was completed a decade or so later by the empress Verina, wife of Leo I [r. 457–74]). The church, which was dedicated to the Panagia (Holy Virgin) Theotokos (Mother of God), was on the First Hill a short way to the west of Hagia Sophia. It was built in the Chalkoprateia, or Copper Market, so it also came to be known by that name. The Panagia Theotokos in Chalkoprateia served for a brief period as the patriarchal cathedral, in the five years between the destruction of the Theodosian church of Hagia Sophia in 532 and the completion of the present edifice by Justinian five years later. Since the church housed the Holy Girdle, it was either the starting point or goal for all processions on feast days of the Blessed Virgin. The church in the Chalkoprateia fell into ruins after the Turkish Conquest, and later a small mosque named Acem Ağa Mescidi was built within its eastern end. The mosque was destroyed early in the twentieth century, and today all that can be seen are the apse, which is now within an automobile repair shop, and part of the north wall, visible in the building across the side street to the north. Both the apse and the north wall apparently stand at half of their original height.

Wolfram Kleiss, in a survey published in 1965, reports on his discovery of an octagonal Byzantine structure in line with the north wall, which may have been the baptistery, standing outside the northwest corner of the atrium. His reconstruction plan of the Chalkoprateia shows that it was a three-aisled basilica with a narthex at its western end, approached through an atrium; it had an apse on the east, three-sided on the exterior and semicircular within, with three large windows. The church was thirty-one meters wide and forty meters long, with the atrium about twenty meters on a side.

The Shrine of the Virgin of Blachernai

This church was built by Pulcheria in Blachernai, the Fourteenth Region, just inside the land walls at the point where they come down to the Golden Horn. The church was built around an *hagiasma*, a sacred well whose waters were endowed with healing powers by the Blachernitissa, the Virgin of Blachernai. Within a decade after Pulcheria's death, the church at Blachernai was used to house the sacred robe and mantle of the Virgin, which had been obtained from Jerusalem by the Empress Verina, wife of Leo I, Marcian's successor. These garments, which, according to legend, had been stolen from a Jewess in Jerusalem by two Byzantine pilgrims, were considered to be the most sacred relics in Constantinople, "the palladium of the city and the disperser of all warlike foes." According to tradition, the Blachernitissa saved the city in 626, when she drove away the barbarian Avars who had almost broken through the city walls near the Golden Horn.

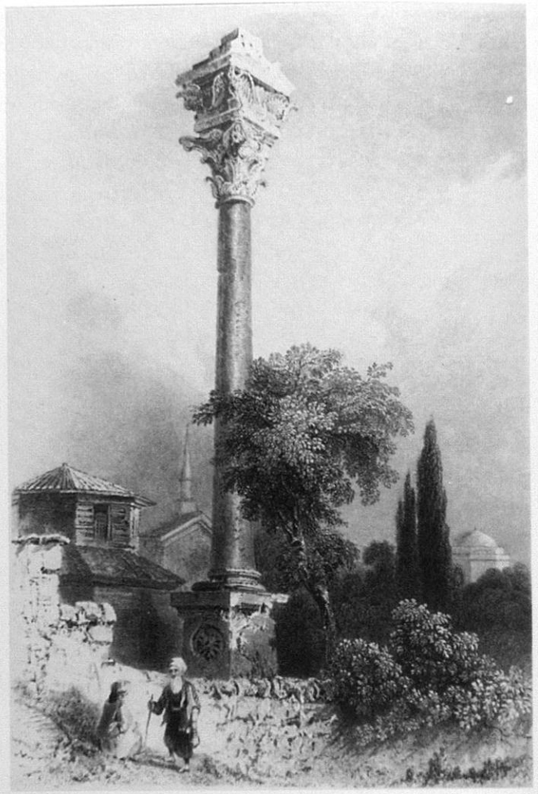
The ancient church of the Blachernitissa was destroyed by fire in 1434, and it was subsequently rebuilt several times, most recently in the mid-nineteenth century. The sacred spring of the shrine is still a popular place of pilgrimage, and each year the Greeks of the city gather here on the anniversary of the day that the Blachernitissa drove away the Avars, giving thanks to the Virgin in a very moving liturgy known as the Akathistos.

~

Marcian outlived Pulcheria by some four years, dying on 27 January 457 at the age of about sixty-five. He too was buried in the Apostoleion. He had ruled for seven years, a reign that the chronicler Theophanes would three centuries later look back on as a golden age of civil and religious peace and good government.

The Column of Marcian

One monument survives in the city to commemorate Marcian's reign, an honorific column (Fig. 27) standing on the Fourth Hill. The statue of Marcian that once surmounted the column has long vanished, but the emperor's name can still be seen in a Latin inscription on the base. The monument is known in Turkish as



27. Column of Marcian (Bartlett print, *c.* 1838)

Kız Taşı, or the Maiden's Column, because of the figures of the two Nikes, or Winged Victories, on its base. This name led European travellers to confuse it with the famous Column of Venus that once stood nearby.

The base is formed by a marble pedestal of three steps; above this stands a monolithic column of Syenitic granite ten meters high. The column is surmounted by a battered Corinthian capital and an impost block with eagles at the corners, which once supported an equestrian statue of the emperor. The total height of the monument was seventeen meters. The equestrian statue is described in the *Greek Anthology:* "Thou seest this image; it resembles a live horse, and Marcian bestrides it, the King of humankind. He has stretched out his right arm and he urges on his swift steed against the enemy [whom he is trampling]."[1]

The base of the column is adorned on all four sides with reliefs. On the east and west sides, the labarum, or Christogram symbol, is surrounded with a large wreath, while on the south side, which has almost vanished, there was a standing cross within a wreath. The relief on the north side has two Nikes with

Verina = Leo I

(1) Zeno = Ariadne = Anastasius I (2)

Leo II

28. The dynasty of Leo I, 457–518

wind-blown drapery holding between them a shield. Above them, an elegaic couplet in Latin records that the column was erected by the Prefect Tatianus in honor of the emperor Marcian. Tatianus served as prefect from 450 to 452, the first two years of Marcian's reign, and so the monument would have been erected in that period.

Marcian was succeeded by a Dacian officer named Leo (Fig. 28), who at the time was serving as Aspar's *domesticus,* as Marcian had. Leo was crowned at the Hebdomon on 7 February 457 by the patriarch Anatolikos. This was the first time that a patriarch of Constantinople had crowned an emperor, a practice that would thenceforth be customary.

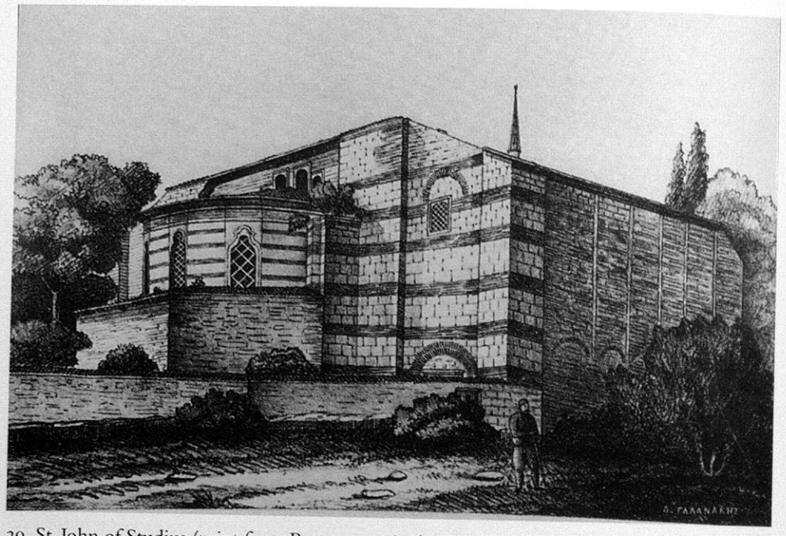
The new emperor remained subservient to Aspar for the first six or seven years of his reign, during which time the German and other foreign mercenaries continued to predominate in the imperial army. Leo sought to counteract Aspar's power by enlisting the services of the Isaurians, a wild tribal people who lived in the Taurus Mountains of southern Asia Minor, their ruler at the time being the chieftain Tarasicodissa. Leo brought a force of Isaurians to Constantinople and formed them into a new contingent in the imperial army known as the Excubitors, under the command of Tarasicodissa, who then changed his name to Zeno. Around 466 Zeno married the princess Ariadne, eldest daughter of Leo and Verina. Leo had no sons, so Zeno's marriage to Ariadne put him in line for the throne. Five years after his marriage, Zeno put down an insurrection by the army in Thrace, in the course of which he killed Aspar, thus eliminating his principal rival.

Leo died on 30 January 474, aged about seventy-four, and was buried in the Apostoleion. He is often referred to as Leo the Great: not for his eminence, but only to distinguish him from his grandson and successor, Leo II, who was known as Little Leo.

The Church of St. John of Studius

The former Church of St. John the Baptist of Studius (Fig. 29), known in Turkish as Imrahor Camii, stands on the Marmara shore of the Seventh Hill, in the old district known as Samatya.

According to the chronicler Theophanes, the church and its associated monastery, the Studion, were erected in 463 by the patrician Studius, who



29. St. John of Studius (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

dedicated them to St. John the Baptist. Studius had served as consul in 454, during the reign of Marcian. An epigram in the *Greek Anthology* suggests that Studius became consul *after* the completion of the church and as a reward for its erection,which has led Cyril Mango to suggest that the church was founded prior to 454 or 453. A new study of the church by Urs Peschlow has led him to date the church to 449–50 based on brick stamps, verifying Mango's hypothesis.

The church is mentioned frequently in the *Book of Ceremonies* in connection with the religious processions of the Byzantine court. One of these ceremonies took place on the feast day of the Decapitation of St. John the Baptist, when the emperor always paid a visit to the Studion, coming by barge from the Great Palace and landing on the Marmara shore at the portal now known as Narlı Kapı, the Pomegranate Gate, where the abbot of the Studion was waiting to receive him. One can still follow the route of their procession from the ruins of the Pomegranate Gate to the Studion, for the old streets in Samatya have not changed their course since the days of Byzantium, except for the intrusion of a railway line in the late nineteenth century.

The first monks of the Studion were from an order known as the Akoimetoi, the Sleepless Ones, so called because they prayed in shifts throughout the day and night. The Studion housed about a thousand monks in its prime, and for a thousand years it was at the center of the religious, intellectual, and artistic life of Byzantium. The golden age of the Studion began in 799, when the monk who came to be known as St. Theodore the Studite became the abbot of the monastery. During the next twenty-seven years, Theodore made the Studion the most powerful and influential monastery in the empire. He was a leader in the struggle against the iconoclastic emperors,

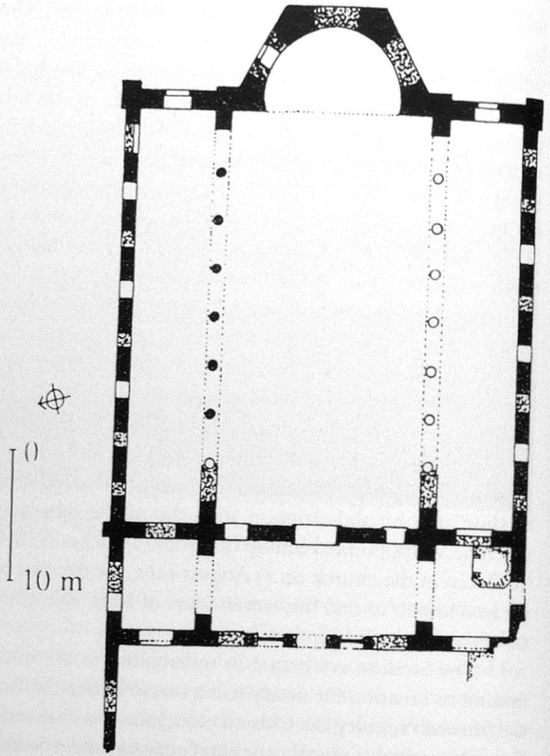
who on three occasions banished him from the city. Theodore returned from his third exile to serve as abbot of the Studion for the last five years of his life, when the monastery established the reputation that has led modern historians to call it "the Cluny of the East." The monks of the Studion won renown as poets and composers of hymns, as scholars and transcribers of ancient manuscripts, as illuminators of books and painters of icons. Theodore kept the monks busy at their various tasks, and when their assigned work was done, they were expected to improve their minds by reading in the monastic library. "Is it work time?" said Theodore, "then to your labors; is it leisure time? then to your studies."

The Studion was involved in a number of momentous occasions in the history of the city. The emperor Michael V attempted to find sanctuary in the Studion when he was overthrown on 19 August 1042, but he was dragged out of the church by an angry mob who gouged out his eyes. He was then sent into exile, never to return. Isaac I Comnenus retired to the Studion when he abdicated his throne late in 1059, and after his death early the following year he was buried in the monastery, where he had studied in his youth. Michael VII Ducas also retired to the Studion after his abdication in 1078, though he subsequently left the monastery when he was appointed bishop of Ephesus. Michael VIII Palaeologus celebrated a Te Deum in the church on 15 August 1261, the day that he entered Constantinople in triumph to end fifty-seven years of Latin rule and restore the city as capital of the Byzantine Empire.

The Studion celebrated its millennium in the mid-fifteenth century, continuing to function for nearly half a century after the Turkish Conquest. Later in the fifteenth century, the Church of St. John was converted into a mosque by Ilyas Bey, who served as imrahor, or chief equerry, under Sultan Beyazit II. It was damaged by fire in 1792 and by the great earthquake of 1894, after which it was abandoned. The Russian Archaeolgical Institute made a study of the church in the years 1907–13, and it was also surveyed by Alexander van Millingen and Jean Ebersolt. During the 1980s it was again studied, by a team of Turkish archaeologists, and more recently by Urs Peschlow.

The Studion (Fig. 30) is the only surviving basilica in the city, other than the fragmentary ruins of the Chalkoprateia, the only other church remaining from the fifth century. Basilicas were originally Roman market buildings, usually with a law court. They were long rectangular structures, typically divided into three aisles by a pair of colonnades, a form that was adopted by Christians for their first monumental churches.

The church was preceded by an *avli,* or atrium, whose site is now occupied by the walled garden through which the building is approached. This served as the courtyard of the Imrahor mosque, and also as a Turkish graveyard, whose principal monument is the fenced-in tomb of a Muslim saint. The atrium is believed to have been almost square in plan, about twenty-seven meters on a side, surrounded on all sides except the east by colonnaded porticoes. Only the north wall of the garden is part of the original atrium, as evidenced by the crosses and rosettes in brick in its structure. More than twenty-seven meters of this wall are still standing, including five doorways, all of them bricked up, two of them retaining their marble



30. Plan of St. John of Studius (after Van Millingen)

frames. The first of these doorways on the east gave entrance to the north end of the narthex.

At the center of the garden there is a *şadırvan,* the ablution fountain of the Imrahor mosque. This probably stands somewhat to the west of the site of the *phiale,* the ablution fountain of the Studion, which was in the center of the courtyard.

The eastern end of the atrium (Fig. 31) opened through five portals into the narthex of the church, which is divided into three bays. The wider central bay has in its western wall a beautiful colonnade of four columns *in antis* framing the three central portals, topped with Corinthian capitals supporting an elaborate entablature with richly sculptured architrave, frieze, and cornice. Two of the marble doorframes are still in place between the columns, one on either side of the central portal. Five doors lead from the narthex into the church, the three in the middle opening onto the central aisle and the others onto the side asles.

The interior of the church (Fig. 32) is an almost square rectangle, 25.00 meters long, excluding the apse, and 24.08 meters wide. The church is a three-aisled basilica, the central nave separated from the side aisles by two rows of seven columns

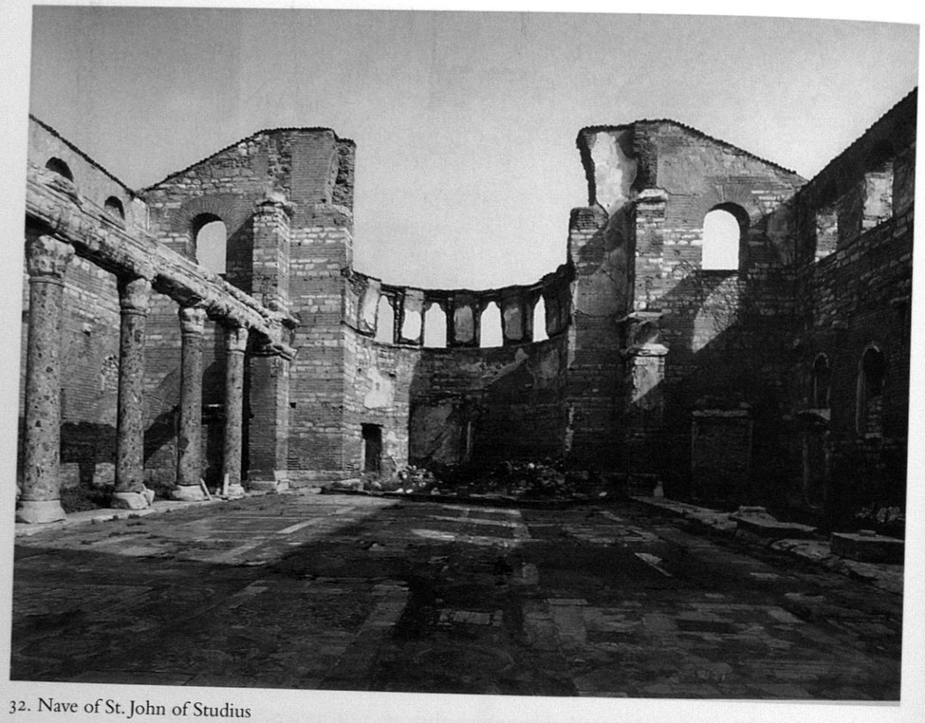


31. Porch of St. John of Studius

each. Six of the columns on the north side survive; they are 3.66 meters high and are monoliths of verd antique, with capitals and entablature as in the narthex. Above the entablature of the aisle colonnades there was originally a second row of shorter columns made of grayish-veined marble, probably Proconnesian, surmounted by Ionic impost capitals. These upper columns supported the wooden roof.

Galleries extended around three sides of the church above the narthex and side aisles. Access to the galleries was via external wooden stairways that led up from the northeast and southeast corners of the atrium. Although the galleries have disappeared, one can still see the arched entrances, now bricked up, that led from the gallery over the narthex to those above the side aisles. The galleries over the aisles would have opened onto the nave through the upper colonnade. According to Pierre Gilles, only six columns were still standing in each row of the upper colonnade in his time, 1544–50, though both colonnades of seven columns each stood in the lower colonnade; he also notes that the monastery of the Studion had already vanished:

> The monastery built by Studius was called Studium, which is now entirely demolished. The church remains, though converted into a mosque. In its porch are four pillars with a curiously finished trabeation. On the inside of the mosque there are seven green pillars on each side streaked with pieces of black stone. Each of them measures six feet and six digits in circumference. Their capitals and architraves are



32. Nave of St. John of Studius

finished in the Corinthian style, as are those that stand in the vestibule. In the upper part stands another order of six pillars. In the courts of the mosque is a cistern. Its roof, which is of brick-work, is supported by twenty-three lofty Corinthian pillars.[2]

The nave ends in an apse that is semicircular within and three-sided on the exterior; only the lower part is original. Around its inner curve there was a synthronon with six or seven tiers of seats for the clergy. The chancel projected into the nave on a stylobate of verd antique. After the building was converted into a mosque, this platform was reoriented toward the southeast to be in line with the *mihrap,* the niche indicating the direction of Mecca. A study of the mihrap platform indicates that the original stylobate of the church projected into the nave 5.45 meters and had a width of 9.49 meters. The chancel screen had six colonnettes in front and four on the sides, counting corner columns twice, with a single entryway in front and one on each side. There were parapet slabs between the colonnettes, which supported an architrave.

The excavations of the Russian Archaeological Institute uncovered the original pavement of the church and also discovered a crypt beneath the sanctuary. The crypt is approached by a flight of six steps leading down from the outer

ends of the diameter of the apse. This subterranean structure is cruciform in plan, consisting of two intersecting barrel-vaulted corridors, each about 1.9 meters long and 0.65 meters wide. The altar was undoubtedly directly above the crypt, in the center of the sanctuary; however, no remnants of it have been found.

The floor of the church was paved with marble in *opus sectile,* a commonly used Roman paving or wall decoration made of shaped tiles of colored stone or marble design. This was uncovered by the Russian Archaeological Institute and is still remarkably well preserved, considering the general neglect of the building. The designs include figures of animals and scenes from classical mythology. The pavement is believed tentatively to be eleventh century, based on its similarity to the fragments still to be seen in the Church of the Pantokrator on the Fourth Hill, built in the years 1118–36.

The work of the Russian Archaeological Institute indicated that the walls of the church were adorned with mosaics and marble revetments, but not a trace of these decorations remains. The mosaics are mentioned by Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who passed through Constantinople in 1402: "[T]he roof of the hall and naves and the walls are of mosaic work very richly wrought, in which are [depicted] many histories."

Besides the five entryways from the narthex into the interior, there was a door at the eastern end of each aisle, as well as a portal on each of the outer sides, surmounted by a window. All of these doors and windows have been bricked up, as have the two ranges of eight large round-arched windows in the north and south walls. The five open windows in the western wall are Turkish, as is the upper part of the wall itself.

Just to the south of the Studion is a large cistern, the one mentioned by Gilles; this has about the same shape and size as the church, with whose longitudinal axis it forms only a small angle. The cistern had twenty-four columns in four rows of six each (one column is now missing, as Gilles noted), and the columns were topped with beautiful Corinthian capitals. Attached to the cistern there was also an *hagiasma.* The cistern, which was approached by a stairway in the middle of its southern side, is no longer accessible. It is possible that the monastery of the Studion stood above this cistern.

Here one might recall the words of a misogynous monk of the Studion in the mid-fifteenth century, an encomium written in praise of his beloved monastery, apparently during a moment of transcendent happiness, in the twilight of Byzantium:

> No barbarian looks upon my face, no woman hears my voice. For a thousand years no useless man has entered the monastery, none of the female sex has trodden its court. I dwell in a cell that is like a palace; a garden, an olive grove and a vineyard surround me. On one hand is the great city with its market places and on the other the mother of churches and the empire of the world.[3]

Leo II, son of Zeno and Ariadne, was seven years old when he succeeded his grandfather Leo I. A few days after his accession, "Little Leo" designated his father

Zeno as co-emperor, acting on the advice of the senate. Leo crowned Zeno in the Hippodrome, the first time that the coronation had been performed there rather than in the Hebdomon. Nine months later Leo died suddenly from disease, whereupon his father Zeno became sole emperor.

Zeno began his reign by coming to terms with King Gaiseric of the Vandals, concluding a peace that was to last for nearly sixty years. But after this auspicious beginning, Zeno found himself isolated and surrounded by enemies in Constantinople, where his mother-in-law, the dowager empress Verina, had woven a conspratorial web with the intention of overthrowing him. During the first decade of his reign, Zeno survived three attempted coups masterminded by Verina, who was finally forced to flee to a fortress in Isauria, where she died in 484.

Zeno died from an attack of epilepsy on 9 April 491 and was buried in the Apostoleion. He was succeeded by Anastasius, a sixty-year-old court official who held the title of silentiary, one of the gentleman ushers in the imperial council. He had been nominated by the empress Ariadne, Zeno's widow, a surprising choice that she justified by saying that he was "endowed with every virtue, as perfect as a man may be." Anastasius was crowned as emperor on 11 April, and six weeks later he married Ariadne.

Two years after the accession of Anastasius, the empire was invaded by the Bulgars, who defeated an imperial army in Thrace, attacking again twice in the following decade. These invasions devastated Thrace right up to the suburbs of Constantinople, interrupting the capital's supplies of food as well as ruining the aqueducts that conducted water into the city.

The Long Walls of Anastasius

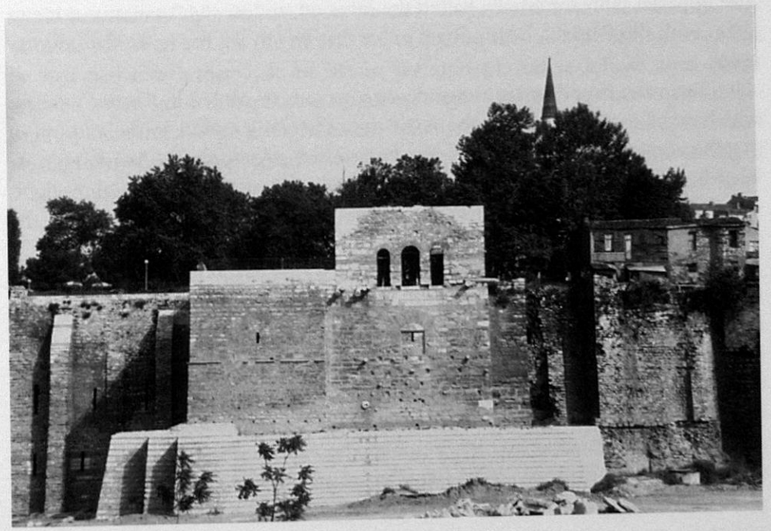
Anastasius set out to build an outer line of fortifications in Thrace, the so-called Long Walls, to prevent invaders from approaching the environs of the capital and to protect the city's water-supply system. This was a line of walls forty miles outside the city, stretching in a great arc from the Marmara to the Black Sea, nearly thirty miles in length. The Long Walls, which the historian Edward Gibbon described as the empire's "Last Frontier," were effective as long as they were maintained and garrisoned, but when they were not, they were overrun by powerful invading armies that then put Constantinople under siege. James G. Crow, who together with Alessandra Ricci has studied these fortifications in recent years, writes,

> The monument, known either as the Long Walls of Thrace or the Anastasian Wall, lies 65 km west of Istanbul and runs from the coast of the Black Sea, close to the small town of Karacaköy, southwards to the Sea of Marmara meeting the coast to the west of Silivri. Originally the wall was 45 km long, but less than half of that length survives above ground. It is best preserved in the wooded hill country of the northern sector where the wall survives in many places to a height of 3 m. In front of the wall was an outer work and a deep ditch and associated with it are a system of forts mostly obscured in deep woodland. As it survives, it is the most monumental linear fortification dating from antiquity in continental Europe, comparable with Hadrian's Wall in its compexity and preservation. Yet compared with the Roman Wall in Britain almost nothing is recorded of the structure of the long walls and there has never been a detailed survey or excavation.[4]

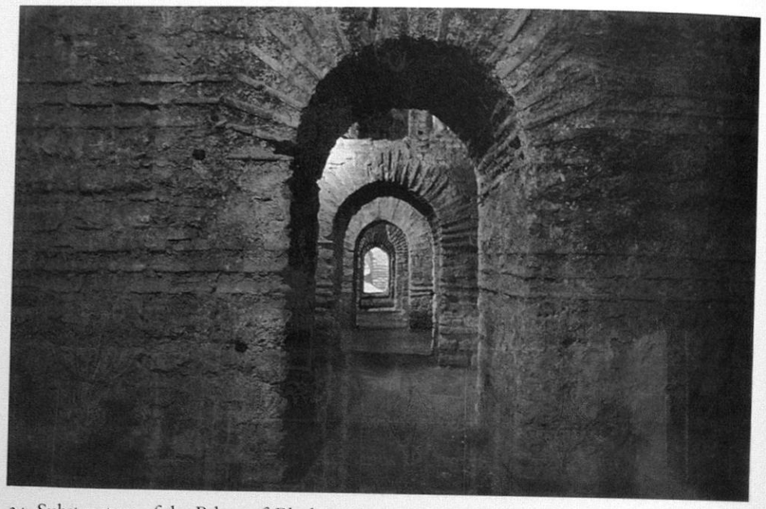
The Blachernai Palace

Anastasius built an imperial residence (Fig. 33) in the Fourteenth Region, just inside the land walls where they come down to the Golden Horn. This was designed as a pied-á-terre for the emperor to use when he visited the shrine of the Virgin at Blachernai. Later rulers expanded and adorned the Palace of Blachernai, as it came to be called, particularly the emperors of the Comnenus dynasty, who made it the principal imperial residence at the end of the eleventh century. The superstructure of the Palace of Blachernai was already in ruins or had vanished at the time of the Turkish conquest in 1453, and all that remains today are its vast substructures, built up against the inside of the land walls.

The penetralia (Fig. 34) consist of two nearly parallel walls some sixty meters long, the space between them varying from two to twelve meters in width, divided by arched cross-walls into three storeys of lofty chambers. Since the wooden floors have long since decayed, these vast dungeons give an impression of immense height. They are approached by a modern stairway from the terrace above, behind the mosque of Ivaz Efendi. The only part of the superstructure that has survived is a ruined tower at the edge of the terrace. The tower is named



33. The Palace of Blachernai, view from outside the city walls



34. Substructure of the Palace of Blachernai

for the Emperor Isaac II Angelus (r. 1185–95, 1203–4), who was imprisoned there in the years between his two reigns.

Anastasius had no sooner secured his Balkan frontier than war erupted in the east, where the Persians ended a long peace by invading Armenia in August 502. The imperial army eventually halted the invasion, and in 505 Anastasius came to terms with the Persians, beginning a peace that was to last for more than twenty years.

Ten years later Anastasius put down a serious revolt led by Count Vitalian, which raged for two years. At about the time the revolt ended, in the autumn of 515, the empress Ariadne died. She was buried in the Apostoleion. Anastasius outlived her by three years, passing away on 5 July 518 at the age of eighty-eight, older than any other emperor in Byzantine history. He too was buried in the Apostoleion.

Anastasius left the empire far more secure financially than it had been for many years. During the first years of his reign, he had felt the need to inaugurate financial reforms, since the imperial reserves had fallen dangerously low. After regulating the finances of the empire, he introduced the first new copper coinage in nearly three centuries, tying it to the gold and silver coinage that had been in stable use since the reign of Constantine the Great. The gold coin was the *nomisma,* which was worth 1/72 pounds of gold; the silver was the *milaresion,* equal to 1/12 of a *nomisma;* and the copper was the *follis,* equal to 1/24 of a *milaresion*. These reforms contributed to the prosperity of the empire, which increased greatly under Anastasius, and the imperial reserves at the end of his reign amounted to the equivalent of 320,000 pounds of gold, more than three times what it had been at the end of Marcian's reign in 457.

Anastasius had left no heir to the throne other than his three nephews, Probus, Pompeius, and Hypatius. But the army rejected them in favor of one of their own officers, Justin, commander of the Excubitors, who was then about sixty-six. Justin's succession was due largely to the astuteness of his nephew Justinian, a young officer in the elite imperial guards known as the Candidati. Justinian had been the first choice of the army, but he refused so that his uncle would succeed to the throne.

Justin had been born to an Illyrian peasant family near the precursor of Skopje in Macedonia, where in his youth he had worked as a swineherd. Enlisting in the imperial army, he served in the Isaurian and Persian wars during the reigns of Leo I and Anastasius, and although unable to read or write, he rose to the rank of count of the Excubitors. His wife Lupacina was a captive whom he had purchased as his concubine and later married; when she was crowned as Augusta, she changed her name to Euphemia. Justinian was her sister's son, whom she and Justin had adopted and brought to Constantinople, giving him the best education available in the capital. When Justinian came of age he was enrolled in the elite guards known as the Candidati, and upon his uncle Justin's accession, he was appointed count of the Domestics, after which he was made a patrician. Justinian was thenceforth the power behind the throne, and when Justin made him Caesar in 525, he became the heir presumptive and succeeded his uncle two years later.

One of those who had been passed over in favor of Justin was the patrician Olybrius, son of the princess Anicia Juliana and the general Aerobindus. Anicia Juliana was a great-great-granddaughter of Theodosius I, and through her mother Placidia she was a descendant of emperors of both the East and the West, while her father Olybrius had been Western Emperor in 472. Her husband Aerobindus had been offered the throne in 512 during a revolt against Anastasius, but he had fled rather than risk his life in the attempt. Anicia Juliana, thus disappointed in her hope of becoming Augusta, sought to emphasize her imperial lineage by building a huge church in the center of Constantinople, an edifice that rivalled and perhaps even surpassed in its magnificence the Theodosian church of Hagia Sophia.

The Church of St. Polyeuctus

The site chosen by Anicia Juliana was next to her palace, which stood on the ridge between the Third and Fourth Hills, just south of the branch of the Mese that led past the Apostoleion to the Adrianople Gate. She dedicated her church to St. Polyeuctus, who was martyred at Melitene (Malatya) in southeastern Asia Minor during the Decian persecutions, known to the West through Corneille's great tragedy *Polyeucte.* This dedication is recorded in a poem of 76 hexameter lines preserved in the *Greek Anthology*. The first ten lines of the poem reveal that

the princesss erected her edifice on the site of a smaller church dedicated to St. Polyeuctus by the Empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II and great-grandmother of Anicia Juliana:

> The Empress Eudokia, in her eagerness to honor God, was the first to build a temple to the divinely inspired Polyeuktos; but she did not make it as fine or large as this [i.e., Anicia Juliana's church], not because of any restraint or lack of resources – for what can a Queen lack? – but because she had a divine premonition that her family and descendants would have the knowledge and resources to provide grander embellishment. From this stock Juliana, bright light of blessed parents, sharing their royal blood in the fourth generation, did not disappoint the hopes of that Queen, who was the mother of its finest children, but raised this building from its small original to its present size and form.[5]

A marginal notation on the poem in the *Greek Anthology* notes that it took three years to build the church, and a miracle story of Gregory of Tours places its completion at the beginning of Justinian's reign in 527. Coin finds on the site indicate that the church was destroyed shortly after the reign of Isaac II Angelus (r. 1185–95), probably during the sack of the city by the Latins in 1204, as evidenced by architectural members from St. Polyeuctus found in western Europe, most notably in Venice.

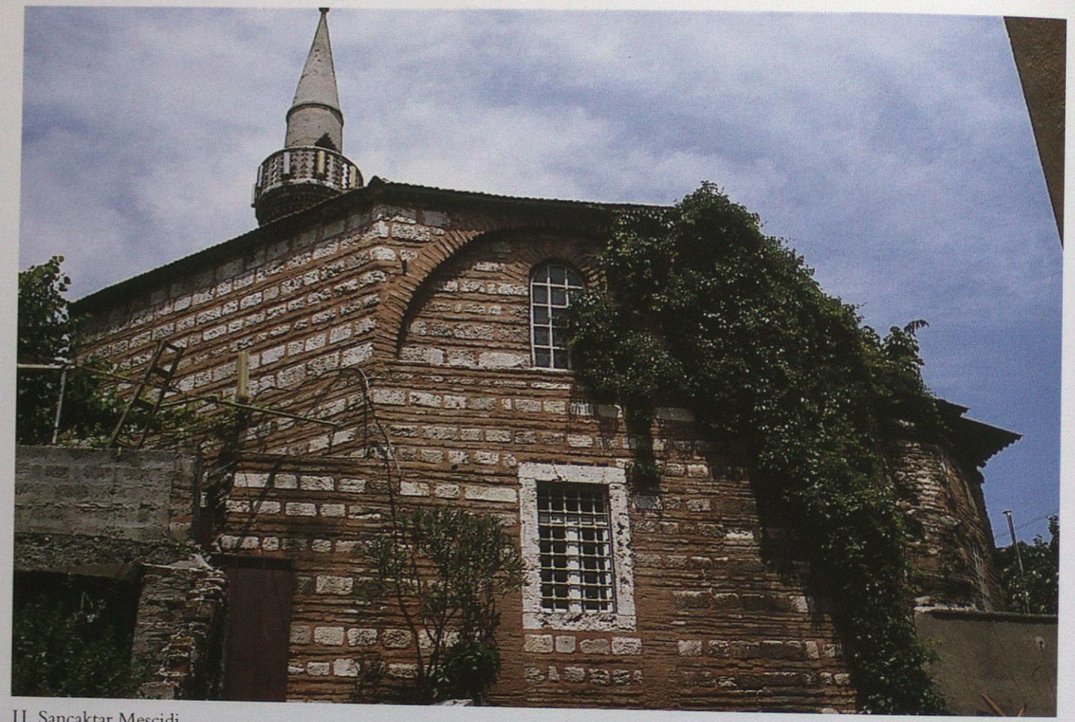
Construction work in 1960 around Istanbul's new city hall, in the Saraçhane district on the ridge between the Third and Fourth Hills, uncovered a number of ancient marble blocks. Two of these blocks, part of an entablature decorated with reliefs of peacocks and vine leaves, bore inscriptions that were recognized by I. Sevcenko as being from the dedicatory inscription in the *Greek Anthology.* The place where they were found, a public park in the southwest quadrant of a highway intersection, agrees with the description given in the *Book of Ceremonies,* which says that the Church of St. Polyeuctus was on the route of the processions that passed along the Mese from the Forum of Theodosius to the Church of the Holy Apostles.

Plans for a highway underpass led to a proposal for an archaeological excavation of the site. This was approved, and work began on 4 August 1960, the project being carried out jointly by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, directed by Nezih Firath, and Dumbarton Oaks, whose team was directed by Martin Harrison of Oxford. The project, which continued for six seasons, enabled professors Firath and Harrison to determine the plan (Fig. 35) of the church and its sculptural decoration.

The church was an enormous square edifice, measuring just under fifty-two meters on each side, excluding the narthex at the west end and a projecting apse platform at the east end. West of the narthex was the atrium, part of whose marble pavement survives, with a large complex on its north side that may have been the baptistery. The atrium appears to have been square, about twenty-six meters on each side, just half that of the church.



I. The Column of Constantine



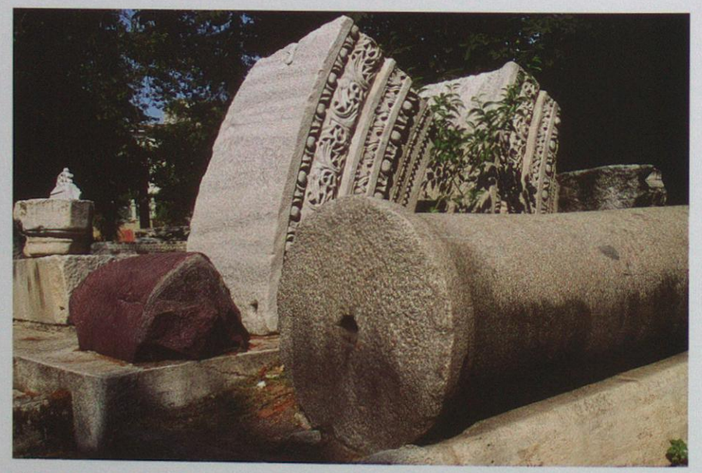
II. Sancaktar Mescidi



III. Sancaktar Mescidi, mihrap and mimber in the southeast bay



IV. Base of the Egyptian Obelisk, showing Theodosius I between his sons Honorius and Arcadius



V. Fragments of the Theodosian church of Hagia Sophia



VI. Hagia Sophia, from the south



VII. The dome of Hagia Sophia, from the southwest



VIII. Interior of Hagia Sophia, looking east toward the nave



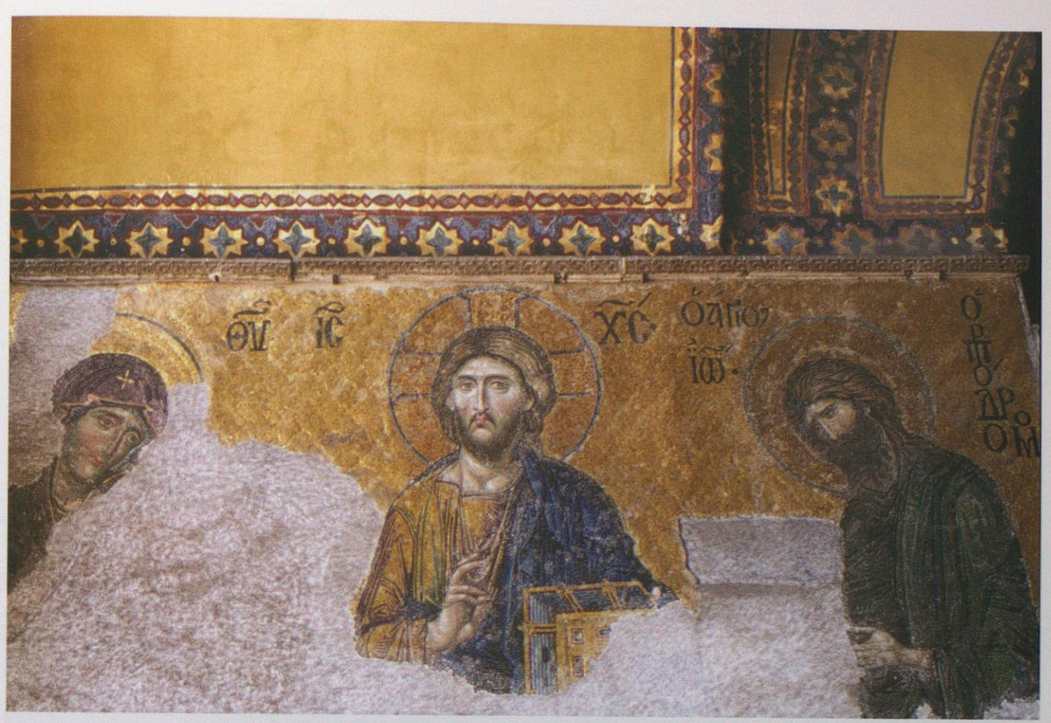
IX. Column capital in Hagia Sophia, with imperial monogram of Justinian and Theodora



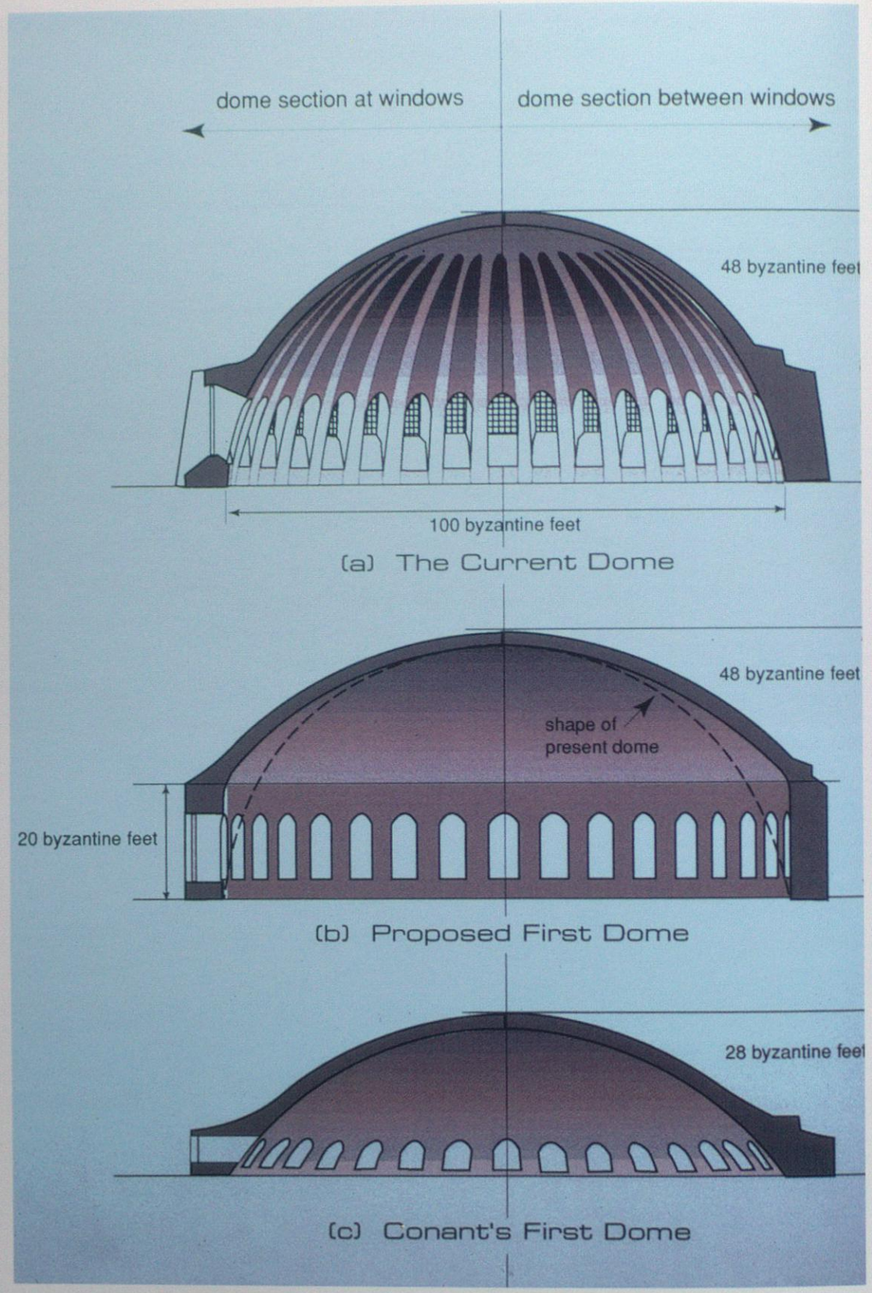
X. Mosaic of Virgin and Christ-Child, in the apse of Hagia Sophia



XI. Mosaic of John II Comnenus and his wife Eirene in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia



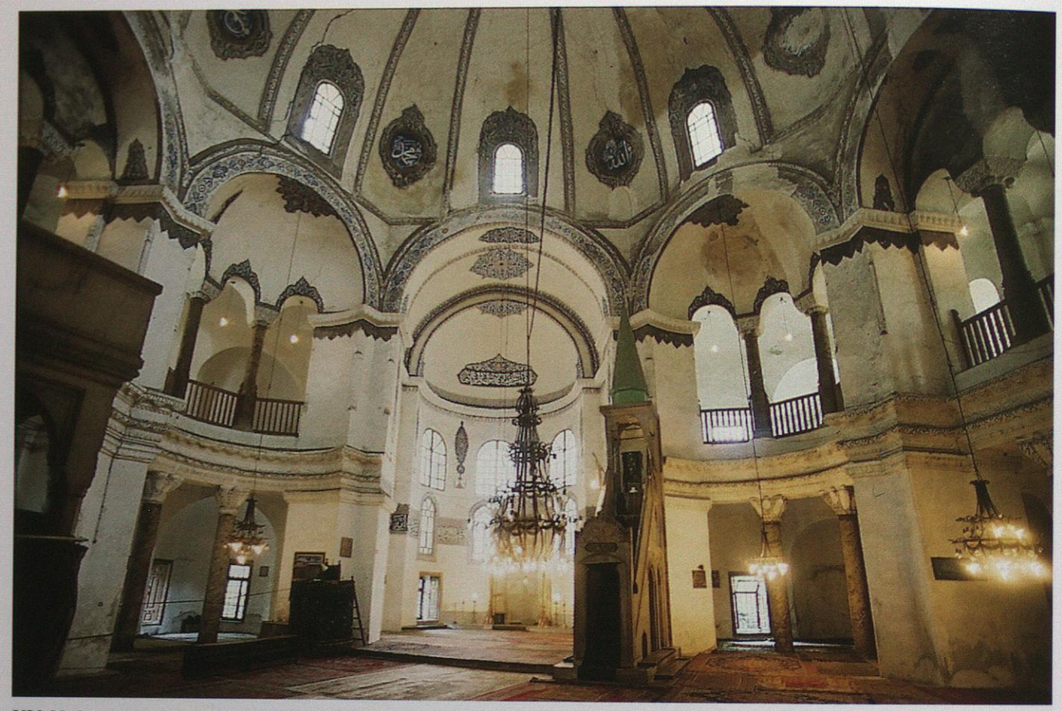
XII. Deesis mosaic in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia



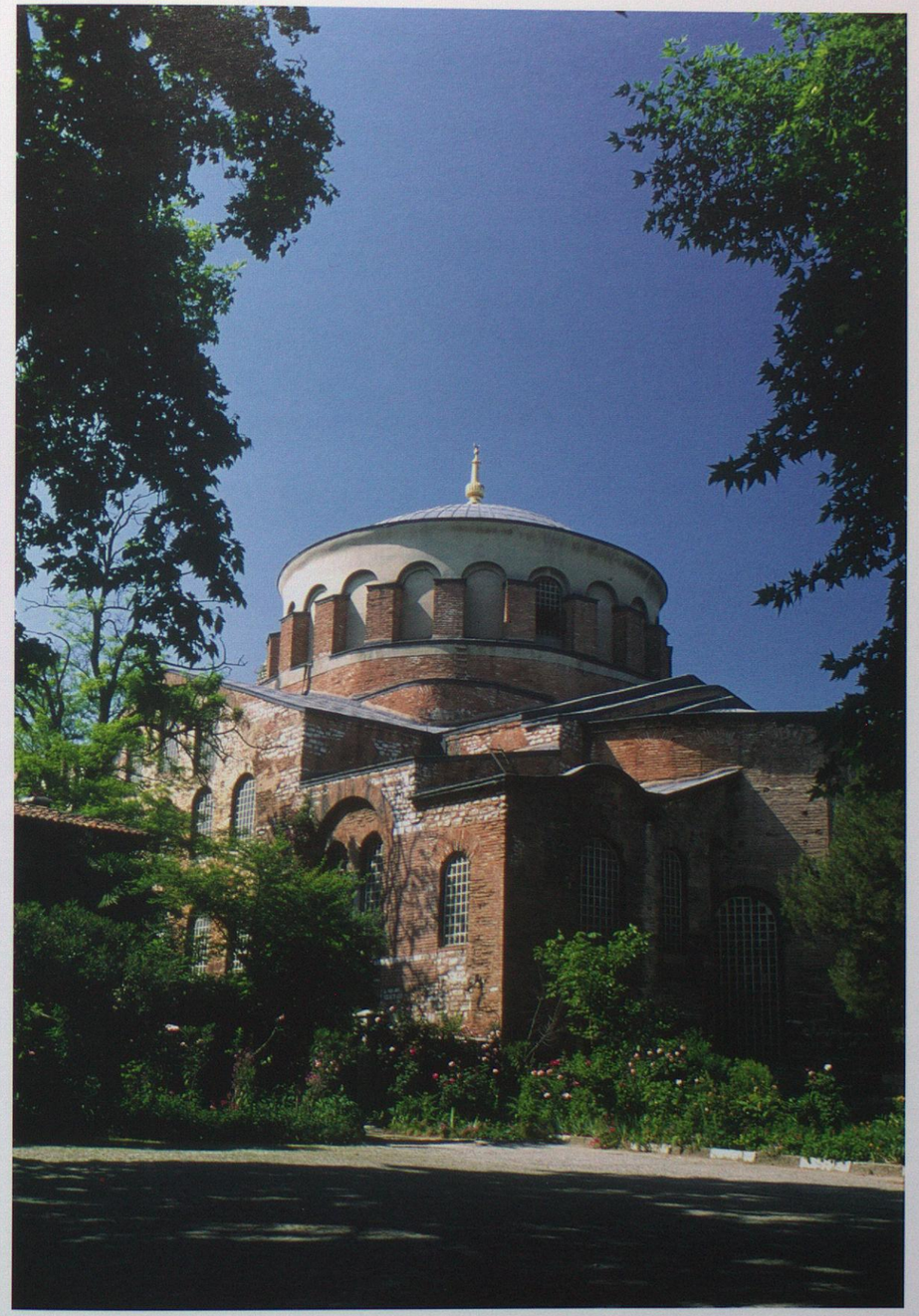
XIII. Sections of the dome of Hagia Sophia



XIV. The dome of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, looking toward the Sea of Marmara



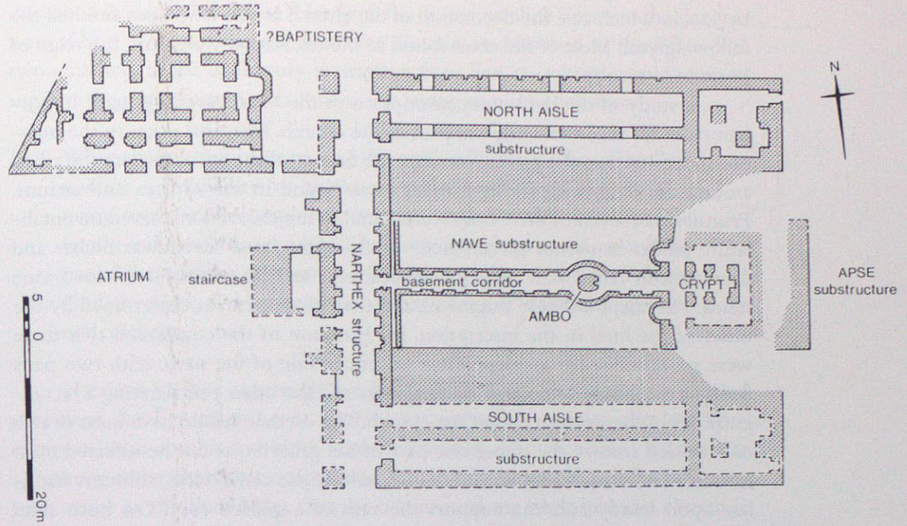
XV. SS. Sergius and Bacchus, looking toward the nave



XVI. Hagia Eirene, from the southeast



XVII. Hagia Eirene, the main dome and the apse



35. St. Polyeuctus, a restored plan of the church (from Harrison)

All that remains of the church, except for architectural and sculptural fragments, is its substructure, for its floor had been raised about five meters above the ground, and the superstructure was removed in several successive grading operations. The church was approached from the atrium by a great staircase, whose foundations and lowest step survive.

Two colossal foundation walls, each seven meters wide, supported the colonnades that separated the nave from the side aisles, the floors of which were carried by two pairs of barrel-vaulted passageways. The floor of the nave was supported on solid clay topped with a layer of marble chips, except for a narrow cryptoporticus, a subterranean passage that led along the central axis of the church to a crypt at its east end, approached by staircases from the sanctuary above. At the center of the church, the cryptoporticus divided to pass an elliptical foundation of concrete, which would have supported the ambo.

There were complexes of rooms at both the northeast and southeast corners of the church, both of them roofed with barrel-vaults and cross-vaults. The narthex substructure was similarly roofed.

The rectangular apse platform was of solid concrete faced with stone, as were the two massive foundations for the nave, each about eight meters wide and deep. The foundations of the walls were of concrete cut three meters into the sandy ground and capped by a course of large blocks of stone. The walls were of concrete faced with squared stone blocks interspersed with courses of brick. The stamps on seventy percent of the bricks gave a date corresponding to the year starting 1 September 524, the date that had previously been suggested for the beginning of construction on the church. Other brick stamps were found for the year 525/6 but none for the year after that, indicating that the building structure was completed

by 526, in which case the decoration of the church would have been finished the following year. Most of the coins found in the excavation were from the reign of Justin I (r. 518–27).

A study of the dedicatory inscription in the *Greek Anthology* gave important clues for reconstructing the plan of the church. Marginal notes in the manuscript containing the poem state that the first 41 of the 76 lines were inscribed around the nave, with the remainder to be found in the narthex and atrium. Fragments of seven of these lines were found in the excavation, carved on entablature blocks in corner pieces, arches and exedrae, and curvilinear niches and decorated in relief with magnificent peacocks and luxuriant intertwined vine stems. The shape of these fragments and their placement, as determined by the order of the lines in the inscription, led Harrison to the conclusion that there were six semicircular exedrae, three on either side of the nave, with two pairs flanking a central bay defined by four piers and the other pair flanking a rectangular bay at the western end of the church. The exedrae would have been of two colonnaded storeys, the upper one part of the galleries, as can be inferred from lines 56–8 of the inscription: "On either side of the cental nave, columns standing upon sturdy columns support the rays of a golden roof. On both sides recesses [exedrae] hollowed out in arches have given birth to the ever-revolving light of the moon."[6]

Harrison, in his reconstruction of the plan, suggests that the church had a dome with a diameter of eighteen meters and a crown some thirty-four meters above the floor. But some authorities do not accept his theory, partly because they disagree with his reconstruction of the plan and also because the excavation did not reveal any evidence of foundations for the supporting piers of a dome.

The most notable of the purloined architectural members from St. Polyeuctus are the two piers beside the Basilica of San Marco in Venice. Known as the *pilastri acritani*, they are so called because they were supposed to have been taken from Acre in Palestine in 1258, but in fact they came from St. Polyeuctus, as evidenced by a pier capital of identical design found in the excavation, as well as another that was reused in a Turkish building in Istanbul. Another outstanding example is a superb basket capital in the Barcelona Archaeological Museum whose design is identical to that of a fragmentary capital found in the excavation.



At least four types of basket capitals adorned the columns of the church, and one example of each has survived in fairly good condition, along with numerous fragments belonging to one or another of the four types. These and other architectural and sculptural fragments are now on exhibit in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

The sculpural fragments found in the excavations include pieces of at least three figured wall panels, including busts of Christ, the Virgin, and eight apostles. These are almost certainly part of the original decoration of the church, and the obliteration of their features would seem to have been done during the Iconoclastic Period.

Harrison suggested that the church of St. Polyeuctus was designed to have the same dimensions as the Temple of Solomon, that is, twenty cubits on a side, as described in Ezekiel 41:13–14. Harrison also found parallels between the decoration of St. Polyeuctus and the Herodian Temple, as described in the Bible. The two sentences in the dedicatory inscription from line 41 onward would seem to support the notion that Anicia Juliana was trying to outdo Solomon:

> What choir is sufficient to sing the work of Juliana, who, after Constantine – embellisher of his Rome, and after the royal descent of so many forebears, accomplished in a few years a work worthy of her family, and more than worthy? She alone has conquered time and surpassed the wisdom of renowned Solomon, raising a temple to receive God, the richly wrought and graceful splendor of which the ages cannot celebrate.[7]

Harrison further suggested that Anicia Juliana was also making a political statement, for her magnificent church was meant to overawe the low-born emperor Justin and his ambitious nephew Justinian, who succeeded his uncle in 527, the year the church was completed. Anicia Juliana herself died the following year, secure in the knowledge that she had erected the most splendid church in the city, one that would stand as a monument to her illustrious imperial line. But by seven years after her death Justinian had completed the present Hagia Sophia, which clearly surpassed St. Polyeuctus and all other churches in the capital. Such grandiose projects could only be realized through imperial patronage, and the close ties between church and state in Byzantium ensured that this royal support would be forthcoming, particularly now that the empire was about to enter the period of its greatest territorial extent and political power.

5

THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN

Justinian was the power behind the throne of his uncle Justin, and after his appointment as Caesar in 525 he became the virtual ruler of the empire. Justinian succeeded Justin (Fig. 36) two years later, beginning the most illustrious reign in the history of the Byzantine Empire. This is evident not only in the vast extent of the empire at the end of Justinian's reign, due to the conquests of his great generals Belisarius and Narses, but in the splendor of the public buildings he and Empress Theodora endowed and the number of impressive fortresses he built to defend the empire from its enemies.

Justinian and Theodora

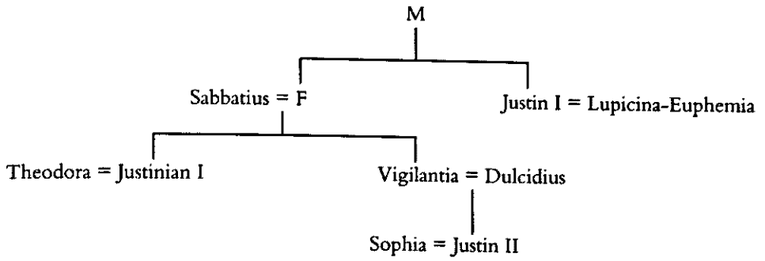
A year before he became Caesar, Justinian met Theodora, a former actress of low origins, with whom he soon became engaged. They were unable to marry at first because of the opposition of Justin's wife, Euphemia, who cited a law prohibiting marriage between a senator and a former actress. But after Euphemia's death in 524, Justinian was able to persuade Justin to grant an exemption to repentent actresses, and so the marriage took place later that year. Justinian was about forty-two at the time, Theodora probably some eighteen years his junior.

Justin became seriously ill early in 527, which led him to name Justinian as his successor. Justinian was made co-emperor on 4 April 527, crowned in a chapel of the Great Palace along with Theodora. Justin died on 1 August of that year, whereupon Justinian became emperor and Theodora was crowned as Augusta.

The Writings of Procopius

The principal source for the history of Justinian's reign is Procopius of Caesarea (in Palestine), who in 527 was appointed to the staff of Justinian's young general Belisarius. Procopius accompanied Belisarius on his Persian, African, and Italian campaigns, and then in 542 he returned to Constantinople. At that time he began to write his *History of the Wars,* published *c.* 551, and in the next four years he





36. The dynasty of Justin I, 518–78

composed the *Edifices,* a laudatory work describing all of the buildings that Justinian had erected up to that time.

But at the same time Procopius also published privately a book called *Anecdota* – better known as the *Secret History* – a spiteful, lurid, and sometimes unbelievable attack on Justinian and Theodora, whom he blamed for all that was wrong in the Roman Empire, often contradicting the praise that he lavished on the emperor in the other two books. Procopius also writes in the *Secret History* about Belisarius and his notorious wife Antonina. According to the *Secret History,* both Theodora and Antonina were of low origin: Theodora was the daughter of a bear-keeper in the Hippodrome, while Antonina's father and grandfather had been charioteers. Both women had been courtesans and had lived depraved lives before they married, but by the time of her marriage Theodora had reformed, whereas Antonina continued her wanton ways for the rest of her life.

The Code of Justinian

During the second year of his reign, Justinian appointed a commission to study and reform the laws of the empire. The following year the commission published a new collection of laws, the Code of Justinian, which was far more comprehensive than the largely obsolete Theodosian Code of 438. The so-called Roman law that became the basis for the legal systems of western Europe was actually the Code of Justinian, which differed from the earlier Roman codes in granting greater rights to women, among other reforms. Justinian made the first use of his laws against heretics, homosexuals, and pagans. The heretics whom he punished were the dualist Manichaeans and the Samaritans, a schismatic Jewish sect. Sodomy was punishable by death, and though no homosexuals were executed, a few prominent pederasts were castrated. Avowed pagans were dismissed from government and teaching posts, and a few were executed. The ancient Platonic Academy in Athens was closed, since its teachings were based not on Christian dogma but on Greek philosophy.

Justinian's Buildings

Justinian was the greatest builder in the history of the Byzantine Empire, and his most renowned monuments are those he erected in his capital. Procopius, in the *Edifices,* writes that Justinian founded, or rebuilt, thirty-three churches in Constantinople and its suburbs. Only three are still intact – Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene, and SS Sergius and Bacchus – but all of these, particularly the Great Church, represent a quantum jump from anything that had preceded them, indicating that Justinian was fully aware that he had inaugurated a new age and was creating a new architecture to glorify his reign. Justinian's three surviving churches and his other extant monuments in the city are described in detail in the next two chapters. The present chapter deals primarily with the historical events of his reign.

Justinian began work on SS. Sergius and Bacchus in 527, at the very beginning of his reign, and it was probably completed by 536. A long inscription in the church records the name of Theodora as cofounder along with Justinian. The church was built next to the Palace of Hormisdas, where Justinian resided with Theodora during the years when he was heir-apparent. (Hormisdas was a fugitive Persian prince who had been given refuge in Constantinople by the Emperor Constantius.) According to Procopius, Justinian had already built a church next to the Palace of Hormisdas before he succeeded to the throne. This was the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, whose dedication was appropriate for him, for his baptismal name was Peter, or more fully Flavius Petrus Sabbatius; he subsequently took the name Justinian to honor Justin after he was adopted by his uncle.

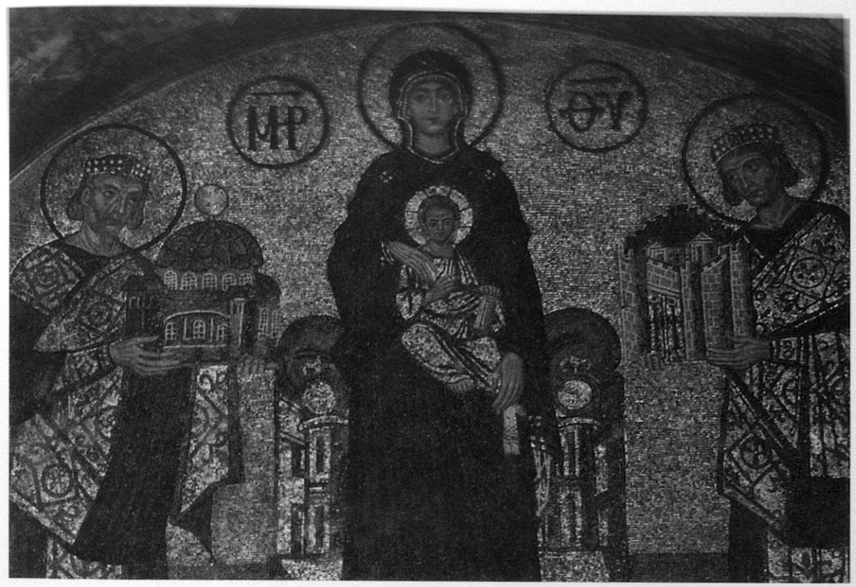
Belisarius and the First Persian War

The eastern frontiers had been quiet throughout almost the whole of Justin's reign, but in the last year of his life the Persians invaded Armenia. Justinian inherited this conflict, the first of a series of wars that occupied his attention for most of his long reign.

During the First Persian War (527–32), Belisarius won a great victory in 530, but the following year he was badly defeated and was recalled to Constantinople. He was still in the city early in 532, when Justinian was faced with the greatest crisis of his reign.

The Nika Revolt

The crisis began with a riot in the Hippodrome on 10 January 532. Three days later it developed into a full-scale insurrection, with the Blue and Green circus factions bursting forth together to attack the Great Palace, shouting "*Nika!*" ("Victory!"), the battle cry that would give its name to the revolt. On Sunday, 18 January, the partisans brought with them Hypatius, nephew of the late emperor Anastasius. They carried him to the Kathisma and crowned him with a golden necklace, whereupon the mob in the Hippodrome acclaimed Hypatius as emperor.



37. Mosaic in Hagia Sophia, showing the Virgin and Christ child flanked by the emperors Constantine the Great (right), who is presenting a model of the city of Constantinople, and Justinian (left), who is offering a model of Hagia Sophia

Meanwhile Justinian and his council were meeting in the Great Palace in a mood of despair. The council advised Justinian to flee to Heraclea on the Black Sea, where he might reorganize his forces and eventually recapture the city, but a stirring speech by Theodora, which concluded with the words "Purple makes a fitting shroud!" convinced him that he should stay and fight for the throne. Belisarius then led forth his barbarian troops and trapped the mob in the Hippodrome, killing 30,000 of them there, according to Procopius. Hypatius and his brother Pompeius were captured and executed, their bodies thrown into the sea, while the remains of the slaughtered partisans seem to have been buried in the Hippodrome.

Rebuilding after the Nika Revolt

The Nika Revolt left much of the imperial quarter on the First Hill in ruins. The church of Hagia Sophia was utterly destroyed, as was Hagia Eirene. The great task of restoration began on 23 February 532, forty days after the end of the revolt, when Justinian began to build a new cathedral dedicated to Hagia Sophia (Fig. 37), erecting it on the ruins of the Theodosian church.

The new church of Hagia Sophia was dedicated by Justinian on 27 December 537. The chronicler Theophanes the Confessor, writing in his *Chronographia,* tells how the procession started at the Church of St. Anastasia, with the Patriarch Menas

riding in the imperial chariot and Justinian proceeding on foot with the people of the city. According to the *Narratio de Sancta Sophia,* a legendary account dating from the eighth or ninth century, when Justinian entered the church, he exclaimed, "Glory to God who has thought me worthy to finish this work. Solomon, I have surpassed thee."[1] This was an obvious dig at Anicia Juliana, who had said essentially the same thing in the dedicatory inscription of her church of St. Polyeuctus.

Theodora was cofounder of Hagia Sophia along with Justinian, as evidenced by their linked monograms on many of the capitals in the colonnades flanking the nave.

Justinian also built a new church dedicated to Hagia Eirene, which was probably completed around the same time as Hagia Sophia. As Procopius writes, "The church called after Eirene, which was next to the Great Church [Hagia Sophia] and had been burned down together with it, the emperor Justinian rebuilt on a larger scale, so that it was scarcely second to any of the churches of Byzantium, save that of Sophia."[2] Here again Theodora is recorded as cofounder along with Justinian, their monograms linked in emblems on the capitals of the nave colonnade.

Justinian also rebuilt the Hospice of Samson, a charitable institution between Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene that had been burned down in the Nika Revolt. At the same time he and Theodora built two other hospices opposite that of Samson. Procopius writes of these hospices after his account of the destruction of Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene:

> And between these two churches there was a certain hospice, dedicated to those who were at once destitute and suffering from serious illness, namely those who were suffering the loss of both property and health. This was erected in early times by a certain pious man, Samson by name. And neither did this remain untouched by the rioters, but it caught fire together with the churches on either side of it and was destroyed. The Emperor Justinian rebuilt it, making it a nobler building in the beauty of its construction, and much larger in the number of its rooms. He also endowed it with a generous annual income of money, to the end that through all time the ills of more sufferers may be cured. By no means feeling either a surfeit or any kind of weariness in showing honor to God, he established two other hospices opposite to this one in the buildings called respectively the House of Isidoros and the House of Arkadios, the Empress Theodora laboring with him in this undertaking.[3]

The Hospice of Samson is described in Chapter Seven.

Theodora on her own established a hospice for fallen women on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, calling it Metanoia, or Repentance. Procopius mentions Theodora's hospice in his *Secret History:*

> Theodora also devoted considerable attention to the punishment of women caught in carnal sin. She picked up more than five hundred harlots in the Forum, who earned a miserable living by selling themselves for three obols, and sent them to the opposite mainland, where they were locked up in a monastery called repentance to reform their way of life. Some of them, however, threw themselves from the parapets at night and thus freed themselves of an undesired salvation.[4]

Justinian's Surviving Shrines

A few of Justinian's foundations survive as sacred shrines, although the original churches that he built there have disappeared, replaced by much more modest structures erected in recent times. One of these is the Shrine of the Virgin Blachernitissa, with its celebrated *hagiasma,* where Justinian erected a larger and more splendid church to replace the one that had been been built in the previous century by Pulcheria. Procopius describes this edifice in his account of the churches dedicated to the Virgin by Justinian:

> One of the churches of the Mother of God he built outside the fortifications in a place called Blachernai. . . . This church is on the sea, a most holy and very stately church, of unusual length and yet of a breadth well proportioned to its length, both its upper and its lower parts being supported by nothing but sections of Parian stone which stand there to serve as columns.[5]

Another of Justinian's foundations that survives as a shrine is the famous *hagiasma* of the Virgin of Zoodochos Pege, the Life-Giving Spring, outside the Theodosian Walls near the Silivri Gate. Tradition has it that Justinian, while hunting one day on the Thracian downs, came upon a crowd of women making a pilgrimage to the spring, and he was told by them that its waters had been endowed by the Virgin with great curative powers. Soon afterward he built a large church around the spring, using surplus materials from Hagia Sophia. A palace was built there by one of his successors, and thenceforth the shrine of the Zoodochos Pege became a favorite imperial retreat. The spring is still a place of pilgrimage today, the site of a church dedicated to the Virgin, with an historic graveyard where many of the Greek Orthodox patriarchs of the late Ottoman era are buried. Procopius gives a lyrical description of the shrine:

> He dedicated to the Virgin another shrine in the place called Pege. In that place is a dense grove of cypresses and a meadow abounding in flowers in the midst of soft glebe, a park abounding in beautiful shrubs, and a spring bubbling silently forth with a gentle stream of sweet water – all especially suitable to a sanctuary.[6]

Justinian's Goal of Reconquest

Meanwhile Justinian was pursuing the goal that he seems to have had in mind even before coming to the throne, reconquering the lost dominions of the Roman Empire, beginning with North Africa and Italy. Early in the summer of 533 Belisarius set off from Constantinople in command of an expedition to

reconquer Africa from the Vandals. As always, Antonina accompanied Belisarius on campaign. Belisarius went on to defeat King Gelimer of the Vandals outside Carthage, after which he captured the city on 15 September 533. The following year he was recalled by Justinian, bringing back some 3,000 Vandal captives, including Gelimer himself, along with the king's entire treasury, most of which had been looted from conquered Roman cities. This ended the Vandal kingdom, whose territory Justinian annexed to the empire as the Praetorian Prefecture of Africa. Justinian used the captured Vandal treasury to help pay for the erection of Hagia Sophia and the many other building projects he initiated after the end of the Nika Revolt.

Justinian's Column

According to the chronicler Cedrinus, in the seventeenth year of his reign Justinian erected a commemorative monument to himself in the Augustaeum. This was a colossal column bearing a huge equestrian statue of Justinian, "habited like Achilles," according to Procopius. The monument stood for more than a thousand years; a German engraving of 1493 shows Justinian's statue still perched on top, rising as high as the dome of Hagia Sophia. Gilles records the final destruction of the monument, the last stages of which he witnessed himself *c.* 1550:

> About thirty years ago the whole shaft was taken down to the pedestal, and that was demolished down to the base a year ago . . . . recently saw the equestrian statue of Justinian erected on the pillar that stood here and which had been preserved a long time in the imperial precinct, carried into the melting houses where they cast their ordnance. Among the fragments were the leg of Justinian, which exceeded my height, and his nose, which was over nine inches long. I dared not measure the horses legs as they lay on the ground, but privately measured one of the hoofs and found it to be nine inches in height.[7]

The Plague

Procopius interrupts his history of the Second Persian War (540–5) to describe the terrible plague that began in October 541, the first recorded appearance of the bubonic plague in the Mediterranean world. It struck first in Egypt, then in the spring of 542 it reached Constantinople, where it raged for two years. Before the plague ended, according to the chronicler John of Ephesus, the authorities in Constantinople were said to have counted 230,000 dead, which would probably have been about half the population of the city. Justinian himself contracted the usually fatal disease and for a time was gravely ill, but he was one of the fortunate few to recover. While Justinian was still gravely ill, some of the officers serving under Belisarius speculated that their general might succeed to the throne if the emperor died, which would be preferable to having Theodora choose a successor.



When Theodora heard of this, after Justinian's recovery she had her husband recall Belisarius and strip him of his command.

The Death of Theodora

Two years later Justinian restored Belisarius to his command and sent him on an expedition to reconquer Italy from the Ostrogoths. Antonina once again accompanied him. Belisarius eventually found that his forces were not strong enough to achieve a decisive victory. Frustrated, he sent Antonina back to Constantinople in the spring of 548 to plead his case with Theodora. But her long journey was in vain, as Procopius writes in his account of the war in Italy: "At about this time Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, set off for Byzantium, intending to make larger provisions for carrying on the war. But the empress Theodora had fallen sick and passed from the world, having lived as queen for twenty-one years and three months."[8] Thus Antonina returned to a city in mourning, with Justinian so overcome with grief that he could not receive her. Eventually Antonina managed to arrange for Belisarius to be recalled to Constantinople, for the imperial campaign in Italy was doomed to failure and she did not want her husband to bear the blame. Belisarius finally returned to Constantinople in 549, whereupon he retired from military service.

Justinian's Last Campaigns

Justinian was desolate after Theodora's death, staying aloof from those around him, neglecting affairs of state and postponing decisions, spending all of his time studying works on theology. But then two years later he roused himself to mount campaigns against the Ostrogoths in Italy and the Slavs who had invaded the northern Balkans. The Italian campaign was commanded by the eunuch Narses, who at the time was over seventy, while the imperial forces in the Balkans were in the charge of another eunuch, Scholasticus. Both campaigns were ultimately successful, particularly that of Narses, who broke the power of the Ostrogoths and recaptured Rome. Meanwhile Justinian had sent off another force to Spain under the elderly Italian general Liberius, who defeated an army led by the Visigoth king Agila. Then, before returning to Constantinople, Liberius established a base for what Justinian hoped would be the eventual reconquest of the rest of Spain.

A series of earthquakes struck Constantinople and its vicinity during a four-year period that began in 553, the most severe tremors occuring during the days 14–23 December 557. These earthquakes damaged the structure of Hagia Sophia, and on 7 May 558 the eastern sector of the dome collapsed and destroyed the interior furnishings of the church beneath it. The reconstruction would take more than four and one-half years to complete, almost as long as the original construction of the entire church.

Another outbreak of the bubonic plague occurred in 558, spreading from eastern Asia Minor to Constantinople, where it lasted for six months. The outbreak

was less severe than the previous one, but it depressed the economy of the empire enough that Justinian had to abandon his plans for the reconquest of Spain.

Early in 559 the Bulgars and Slavs were joined by the Kotrigur Huns in raiding the imperial dominions in the Balkans. The Bulgars and Slavs were stopped by a Byzantine army, but a force of 7,000 Kotrigurs under their chief Zabergan penetrated Thrace and put Constantinople under siege. All of the imperial forces were off on campaign, leaving the city defenseless. Justinian had no choice but to call once again on Belisarius, who was living in obscure retirement. Belisarius mustered as many men as he could from among the populace of Constantinople, along with 300 veterans who had fought under him in Italy and North Africa. His small force routed the Kotrigurs, who then broke off their siege after Justinian personally paid Zabergan to release the prisoners he had taken. Once the Kotrigurs had departed, Justinian reentered the city in a triumphal procession, though it was Belisarius who had really won the victory.

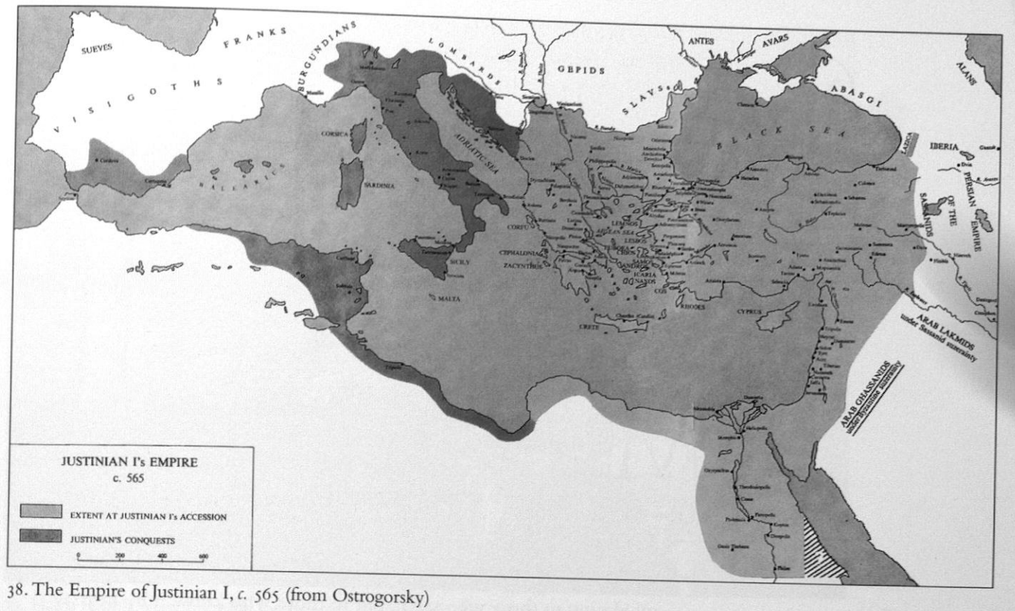
Death of Belisarius

Three years later Belisarius was unjustly accused of involvement in a plot to assassinate Justinian. As a result he was placed under house arrest until July 563, when Justinian was persuaded to exonerate him. Belisarius died in March 565, just a few months before Justinian himself passed away. His wife Antonina survived him by a few years, living in penniless retirement in a convent, for when Belisarius died, the state seized all of his assets, leaving her destitute. The sad end of Belisarius gave rise to an apocryphal legend widely believed throughout Europe in later times. The tale had Belisarius living out his last years as a blind beggar in the streets of Constantinople, those who tossed him a copper coin unaware that this was the great general who had won victories on three continents and had been awarded a triumph in the Hippodrome.

Rededication of Hagia Sophia

Meanwhile the reconstruction of Hagia Sophia had been completed, and the church was rededicated on Christmas Eve in 562. Justinian, who was now eighty years old, led the congregation in procession to the Great Church shortly before dawn, riding in a chariot with the patriarch Eutychius. The occasion is described by Paul the Silentiary, who composed a long poetic description of the newly restored church that he later recited to Justinian and his court in the Great Palace:

> At last the holy morn had come, and the great door of the newly-built temple groaned on its opening hinges, inviting Emperor and people to enter; and when the interior was seen sorrow fled from the hearts of all, as the sun lit the glories of the temple. 'Twas for the Emperor to lead the way for all his people, and on the morrow to celebrate the birth of Christ. And when the first glow of light, rosy-armed, leapt from arch to arch, driving away the dark shadows, then all the princes



38. The Empire of Justinian I, *c.* 565 (from Ostrogorsky)

> and people with one voice hymned their songs of praise and prayer, and as they came to the sacred courts it seemed as if the mighty arches were set in heaven.[9]

Death of Justinian

Justinian continued to carry out his imperial duties until the last day of his life, 14 November 565, when he dropped dead of a stroke or heart attack. After lying in state for two days in the Great Palace, he was carried to the new mausoleum he had erected in the Church of the Holy Apostles, where he was buried in a porphyry sarcophagus next to that of Theodora.

Justinian was eighty-three years old when he died. He had ruled for more than thirty-eight years, the most illustrious reign in the history of what later historians called the Byzantine Empire (Fig. 38). Yet the contemporary chronicler Evagrius concluded his account of Justinian's reign with these words: "Thus died this prince, after having filled the whole world with noise and troubles: and having since the end of his life received the wages of his misdeeds, he has gone to seek the justice which was his due before the judgement-seat of hell."[10] Modern historians take a loftier view, ranking Justinian as the greatest builder in the history of Byzantium, particularly to be noted for his magnificent church of Hagia Sophia and celebrated for his imperial vision in trying to reconquer the lost dominions of the Roman Empire.

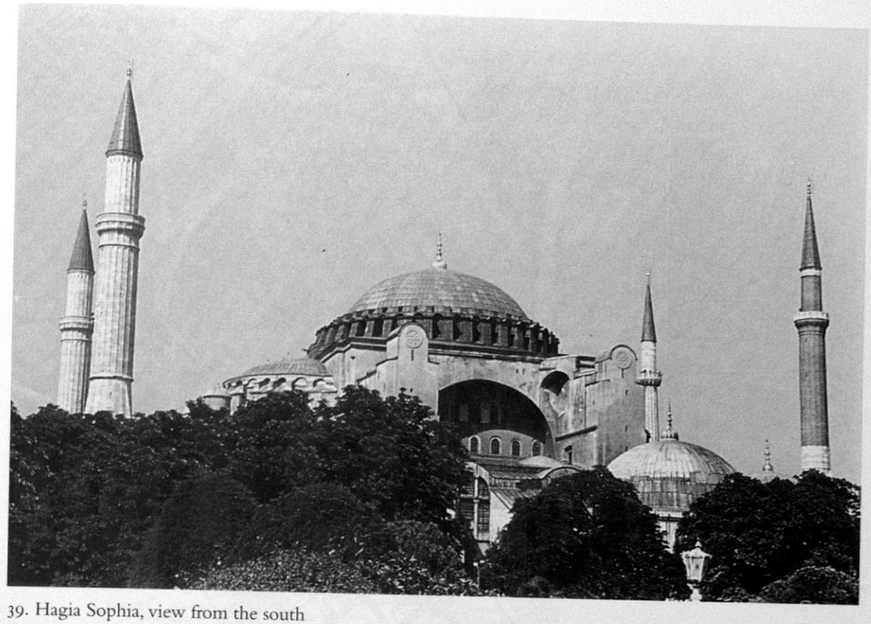
6

HAGIA SOPHIA

Many consider Justinian's Hagia Sophia (Fig. 39, Plate VI) to be the greatest building in the world, an edifice that had no precedent in Roman architecture and one that would far surpass anything erected in the subsequent history of the Byzantine Empire. Procopius writes in praise of the new church in Book I of his *Edifices:*

> So the church has become a spectacle of marvelous beauty, overwhelming to those who see it, but to those who know it by hearsay altogether incredible. For it soars to a height to match the sky, and as if surging up from amongst the other buildings it stands on high and looks down upon the remainder of the city, adorning it, because it is a part of it, but glorifying in its own beauty, because, though a part of the city and dominating it, it at the same time towers above it to such a height that the whole city is viewed from there as from a watch-tower. Both its breadth and its length have been so carefully proportioned, that it may not improperly be said to be exceedingly long and at the same time unusually broad. And it exults in an indescribable beauty. For it proudly reveals its mass and the harmony of its proportions, having neither any excess nor deficiency, since it is more pretentious than the buildings to which we are accustomed, and considerably more noble than buildings which are merely huge, and it abounds exceedingly in sunlight and the reflection of the sun's rays from the marble. Indeed one might say that its interior is not illuminated without by the sun, but that its radiance comes into being within it, such an abudance of light bathes this shrine.[1]

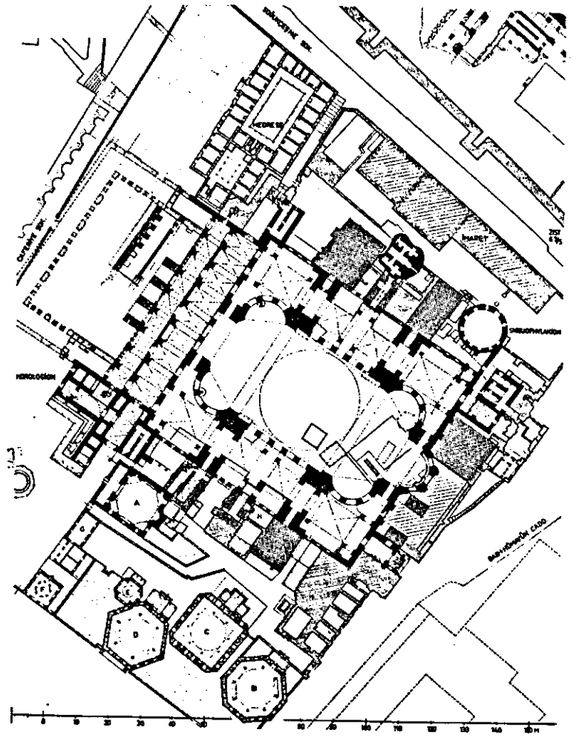
At the beginning of the *Edifices,* Procopius had written of Justinian that "most of the Emperor's other achievements have been described by me in my other writings, so that the subject of the present work will be the benefits that he wrought as a builder . . . so that it may not come to pass in the future that those who see them refuse to believe they are in truth the work of one man." He then



39. Hagia Sophia, view from the south

goes on to tell of how, after the Nika Revolt in 532, Justinian set out to build a new edifice to replace the Theodosian church of Hagia Sophia, which "at that time lay a charred mass of ruins."

> But the Emperor Justinian built not long afterwards a church so finely shaped, that if anyone had enquired of the Christians before the burning, if it would be their wish that the church should be destroyed and one like this should take its place, showing them some sort of model of the building we now see, it seems to me that they would have prayed that they might see their church destroyed forthwith, in order that the building might be converted to its present form. At any rate the Emperor, disregarding all questions of expense, eagerly pressed on to begin the work of construction, and began to gather artisans from the whole world. And Anthemius of Tralles, the most learned man in the skilled craft which is known as the art of building, not only of his contemporaries, but also when compared with those who had lived long before him, ministered to the Emperor's enthusiasm, duly regulating the tasks of the various artisans, and preparing in advance designs of the future construction; and associated with him was another master-builder, Isidorus of Miletus, a Milesian by birth, a man who was intelligent and worthy to assist the Emperor Justinian.[2]



black shading: fifth-sixth century
cross-hatch shading: fourteenth century
diagonal shading: fifteenth-sixteenth century Ottoman
A: Baptistery; B, C, D, E, F, H: Ottoman structures; G: modern structure

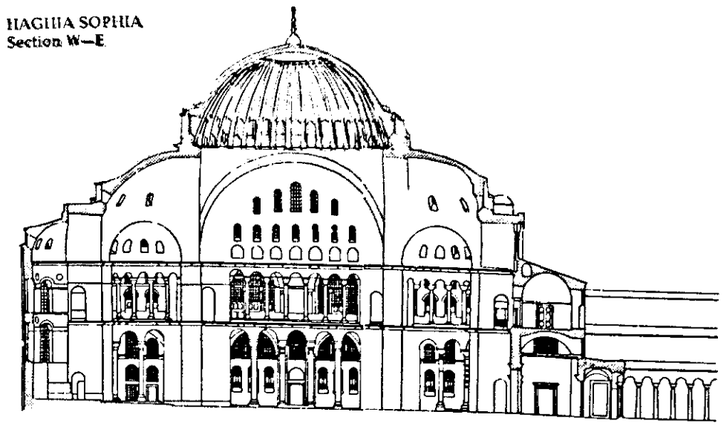
40. Plan of Hagia Sophia (from Müller-Weiner)

Anthemius died in 534, whereupon Isidorus became head architect and carried the work through to completion. Justinian and his architects chose to disregard the plan of the earlier church on this site – and indeed all earlier plans of which any trace or record has come down to us. The essential structure of this astonishingly original building, a domed basilica, can be briefly described.

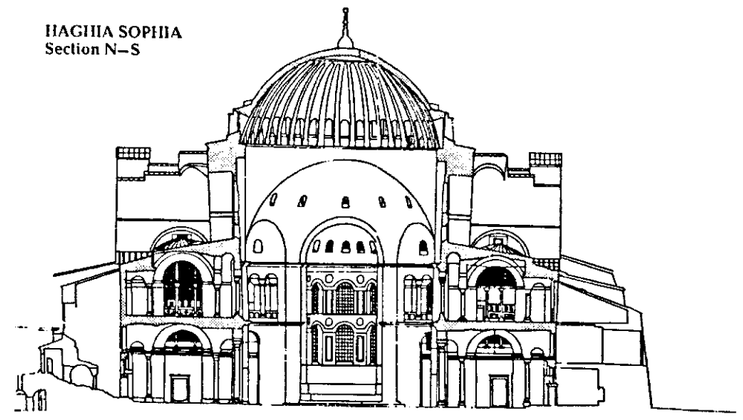
The Building

Justinian's church was laid out so that its main axis through the apse is oriented 33.4° to the south of east, about 2° south of the direction of sunrise at the winter solstice. In order to simplify the description of its plan (Figs. 40, 41), it will be assumed that its apse faces due east.

HAGHIA SOPHIA
Section W–E



HAGHIA SOPHIA
Section N–S



41. Hagia Sophia, sections W-E and N-S (from Van Nice)

The exterior walls of the building, which was approached from the west through an atrium, form a great rectangle approximately ninety-two meters in length and seventy meters in width. At the center of the east wall is the apse, semicircular within and three-sided on the exterior, while to the west the church is preceded by a narthex and exonarthex. The central nave is separated from the side aisles by a two-tiered colonnade, the upper tier fronting a gallery above the side aisles and a narthex. The central area of the nave is covered by a great dome, with smaller semidomes to its east and west. If the plan is to all intents and purposes that of a basilica, the originality consists in covering it with a dome and two semidomes. Glorious as is the dome, it is the introduction of the semidomes that constitutes the real triumph of genius. For in addition to lengthening the nave, they make it possible to appreciate from the very threshold the soaring, hovering height; they allow

the dome, in short, to play its true and full part in the total effect. Contrast the relative ineffectiveness of such a dome as that of St. Peter's in Rome, from which radiate barrel-vaults in all directions. That dome, though higher and somewhat greater in diameter than Hagia Sophia's, is almost insignificant, for it can only be seen from underneath, or nearly so, and one must crane back one's neck. Whereas in Hagia Sophia one can see the whole immense interior at once and appreciate its beauty and its grandeur: the fabled dome, which appeared to be suspended from heaven on a golden chain, according to Procopius; and the enormous expanse of the nave, flanked by the graceful two-tiered colonnade that he likened to a line of dancers in a chorus – all elements of the vast structure interrelated harmoniously.

The Architects

Procopius uses the word *mechanikos,* an architect-engineer with theoretical training, in referring to Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, the two architects of Justinian's Hagia Sophia. In their time, an engineer who was highly skilled in mathematics and had a broad academic education would have been called a *mechanikos.* An *architecton,* or architect, on the other hand, would have had technical rather than theoretical training. Both a *mechanikos* and an *architekton* could have designed and constructed a building in the early Byzantine era, but from the medieval era onward the former title disappeared, probably because builders no longer received the theoretical training that they had been given in earlier times.

Both Anthemius and Isidorus were distiguished mathematical physicists from western Asia Minor, and both had previously worked for Justinian on an engineering project in Mesopotamia. Anthemius was the author of a treatise entitled *Remarkable Mechanical Devices.* One of his inventions was an apparatus to simulate earthquakes on a small scale using steam pressure, and he also made original contributions in the study of conic curves. Isidorus had been the penultimate director of the ancient Platonic Academy in Athens, closed by Justinian in 529. Both he and Anthemius would have been familiar with the work of their contemporary John Philoponus, who is credited by historians of science as being the first to understand that the impulse a force exerts on a body is proportional to its mass and velocity. They both had travelled widely and thus would have seen some of the domed buildings that are known to have been in existence throughout the empire at that time, the largest by far being the Pantheon in Rome. And they may also have seen, or at least known of, buildings in southeastern Asia Minor and Syria with pendentive domes. All of these factors would have influenced Anthemius and Isidorus in their design of Hagia Sophia, which was a basilica with a dome on pendentives.

Construction of the Church

The first task of the architects was to clear the site and lay the foundations for the building. Seismic tomographical studies by A. S. Çakmak *et al.* show that the



bedrock of the acropolis hill was leveled to provide platforms for the main piers, the two on the north standing at a somewhat higher level than those on the south, with a declevity between the two pairs sloping down sharply to the west. Procopius describes the arrangement of the four main piers and the arches that were erected between them:

> And in the center of the church stand four man-made eminences which they call piers, two on the north side and two on the south, opposite and equal to each other, each pair having between them just four columns. . . . From these spring four arches which rise over the four sides of a square, and their ends come together in pairs and are made fast to each other on top of these piers, while the other portions rise and soar to an infinite height. And while two of the arches rise over empty air, those namely on the east and west sides, the other two have under them certain structural elements, including a number of small columns. Upon the crowns of the arches rests a circular structure, cylindrical in shape; it is through this that the light of day always first smiles. And since the arches where they are joined together are so constructed as to form a four-cornered plan, the stonework between the arches produces four triangles [the pendentives]. And while each supporting end of a triangle, having been contracted to a point by the coming together of each pair of arches, makes the lower point an acute angle, yet as the triangle rises and its width is extended by the intermediate surface, it ends in the segment of a circle which it supports [i.e., at the cornice of the drum], and forms the remaining angles at that level. And upon this circle rests the huge spherical dome (Plate VII) which makes the structure exceptionally beautiful. Yet it seems not to rest upon solid masonry, but to cover the space with its golden dome suspended from heaven.[3]

Rebuilding after the Earthquake of 558

After the earthquake of 558 had caused the collapse of the eastern sector of the dome, Justinian entrusted the task of rebuilding the church to Isidorus the Younger, nephew of Isidorus of Miletus, who was no longer alive. The rebuilding of the church by Isidorus the Younger is described by Agathias, a poet and historian of the sixth century:

> And then, the emperor again arranged it [the church], which had lost the most central part of the roof from the earthquake, [the part] that rose above everything, more securely and raised it to a greater height . . . the younger Isidorus and the other architects first analyzed the shape among themselves; and observing, by means of what had been preserved, that which suffered – what it was like [at present] and to what extent it had failed – they left the east and west arches in place as they were, and they extended inward the structure at the bend of

> the north and south arches and made it slightly broader, in order to draw them [the north and south arches] closer to the others in a more suitable fashion and to rectify the equilateral harmony. Thus they have been able to cloak the asymmetry of the void and to steal back a small part – as much as was responsible for the oblong shape – of its extent; and thus they again placed upon them [the four arches] that which rises in the center – the circle, or hemisphere, or whatever they wish to call it. And now it has become somewhat straighter, [but] also well curved and everywhere more symmetrical in profile, more confined and sharper, so that it does not astound observers as before, but it sits more securely.[4]

Subsequent Rebuilding

A series of earthquakes in the ninth and tenth centuries damaged the building and caused cracks to appear in the dome, until finally, in 989, part of the dome and the western arch collapsed. Basil II (r. 976–1025) entrusted the reconstruction to the Armenian architect Trdat, and on 13 May 996 the church was once again reopened.

Cyril Mango notes that the emperor Romanus III (r. 1028–34) consolidated the main eastern arch of the church, as recorded in a mosaic inscription still visible up until the early years of the twentieth century.

The basic form of the church was established during Justinian's reign, but subsequently buttresses were erected on all sides of the building. These were built because of deformations in the structure, but the previously noted study by Çakmak *et al.* showed that none of these buttresses contributes to the structural integrity of the building. The oldest are the four flying buttresses against the west gallery, which were probably added during the Latin occupation in the years 1204–61. The two pairs of low buttresses built against the north and south buttress piers (the outer parts of the main piers) were added in 1317 by Andronicus II (r. 1282–1328).

The city was struck by a series of earthquakes in the autumn of 1343 and by another tremor on 6 November 1344. These shocks weakened the building and led to the collapse of the eastern arch and one-third of the dome on 19 May 1346. Repairs were begun immediately by the Empress Anna of Savoy, widow of Andronicus III (r. 1328–41). Anna was at the time serving as regent for her son John V (r. 1341–91), and work was suspended when John VI Cantacuzenus (r. 1347–54) was declared co-emperor. Around 1350 a large sum of money for the restoration of the church was sent by Symeon, grand duke of Muscovy, but this was diverted for his own purpose by Cantacuzenus, who later took up a public collection and completed the repairs in 1354.

During the last century of Byzantine rule, Hagia Sophia fell into disrepair, part of the general decay of the dying city, as noted by travellers to Constantinople in that period. The Spanish ambassador Clavijo, who visited Constantinople in 1403, wrote that "everywhere throughout the city there are great palaces, churches and monasteries, but most of them are now ruined. . . . The outer gates



of Hagia Sophia are broken and fallen."[5] The Florentine cartographer Buondelmonti, writing in 1422, noted that "only the dome of Hagia Sophia now remains, as everything else is fallen and in ruins."[6]

Hagia Sophia as a Mosque

Sultan Mehmet II (r. 1451–81), known to his people as Fatih, or the Conqueror, visited Hagia Sophia immediately after he first entered Constantinople, which had fallen to him on Tuesday, 29 May 1453. After inspecting the church, he gave orders that it be converted into a mosque, known in Turkish as Aya Sofya Camii, where he attended the first Islamic service that Friday.

Fatih's conversion of the church into a mosque required some structural changes, the major external additions being the arch buttresses and retaining walls at the east end of the building. The interior changes included the building of a *mimber,* or pulpit, and a *mihrap,* the niche that indicates the direction of Mecca, inside the east end of the apse. Almost all of the figurative mosaics in the building were eventually covered over with whitewash and plaster (and apparently also by green felt), the only exceptions being the six-winged angels in the pendentives.

The new external structures included a wooden minaret on the southeast buttress, from which the imam gave the noon call to prayer for the first time on Friday, 1 June 1453. Later in Fatih's reign, this wooden structure was replaced by the present brick minaret at the southeast corner of the building. Other sultans added new structures and adorned the interior in various ways. The present stone minaret at the northeast corner of the building was erected by Selim II (r. 1566–74) in 1574, and those at the northwest and southwest corners were added a year or so later by his son and successor, Murat III (r. 1574–95). All three of these stone minarets are works of the great Sinan, chief of the imperial architects, who thoroughly restored all of the buttresses and the fabric of the building in the years 1572–74. Ahmet I (r. 1603–17) had the area around the church cleared, and another restoration was carried out by Mahmut I (r. 1730–54).

The last and most thorough restoration in Ottoman times was commissioned by Abdül Mecit (r. 1839–61) and was carried out in 1847–49 by the Swiss architects Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati. During the course of this restoration, the surviving figurative mosaics were cleared of the whitewash and plaster with which they had been covered earlier in the Ottoman period. When the project was complete, the mosaics were covered over once again, after they were recorded by the Fossatis so that they could be located in the future.

Hagia Sophia as a Museum

In April 1932 Thomas Whittemore and other members of the Byzantine Institute began the task of uncovering and restoring the mosaics, and at that time Hagia Sophia was closed to prepare the building for its reopening as a museum in 1934. Since then there have been other repair projects, the most recent of which – a

restoration of the surviving mosaics and Islamic calligraphy in the dome – has necessitated the erection of scaffolding in the nave.

The Atrium and the Theodosian Church

Justinian's church was preceded on its west side by an atrium, a portico that enclosed an area extending westward from the present exonarthex for about forty-two meters, with a phiale at its center. The atrium and phiale are mentioned by Paul the Silentiary in his description of the church:

> On the west side of the church you will see a court surrounded by four stoas or colonnaded walks; one is joined to the narthex and the others open, and various paths lead to them. At the center of the court stands a spacious fountain cut from iasian peaks; from it a burbling stream of water leaps into the air.[7]

The stoa formed a covered walkway extending around the north, west, and south sides of the atrium, whose east side was bounded by the exonarthex. Along the courtyard side of the stoa, pairs of marble columns alternated with rectangular brick piers – a total of twenty-six columns and twelve piers carrying round arches – probably covered by a vaulted brick roof. The principal gateways to the atrium were on the south, leading to the Augoustaion, the great square south of Hagia Sophia.

The atrium has completely disappeared, and its site is now occupied by the garden to the west of Hagia Sophia. The ancient architectural members arrayed in this garden were discovered in excavations on the First Hill, some of them from the precincts of Hagia Sophia itself.

An excavation pit outside the northern half of the exonarthex has been left open, revealing the structures unearthed in 1935 by the German archaeologist Alfons Maria Schneider. Schneider identified this as the entryway to the Theodosian church of Hagia Sophia, erected in 415 after the original church of Constantius had been destroyed in 404. What remains in situ is principally the foundations of a monumental entrance porch, approached by steps leading up from a paved street. The porch is about eight meters to the west of the present exonarthex, and its level is some two meters below that of Justinian's church. It is essentially in the classical manner – a colonnaded porch with the traditional entablature and coffered ceiling above the columns – although, at least above the central columns over the main door, the entablature appears to have been arched instead of trabeated (i.e., constructed with a horizontal lintel), as was always the case in classical buildings. Vast fragments of this superstructure can be examined close at hand, as they are arrayed beside the café at the northern end of the garden. It is interesting to see the predominately Hellenistic decorative motifs giving place here and there to some distinctively Christian symbols, such as the lambs shown in relief on the frieze. Through this temple-like porch one entered a great basilical church, probably with five aisles rather than the usual three. Such a plan, with a

wide central nave flanked on either side by two rows of columns forming a double aisle, was occasionally used in early times for the largest churches, as may still be seen, for example, at the Lateran and St. Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome or at St. Demetrius in Thessalonika. A similar plan was probably used for the earlier church built by Constantius. The surviving fragments of the Theodosian church testify well enough that this too was a building of monumental proportions; it well deserved the name by which it was known and that it passed on to its successor: Megale Ekklesia, the Great Church.

The Exonarthex and Narthex

Five symmetrically placed gateways led from the atrium into the exonarthex. This is a long vestibule approximately as wide as its height up to the springing of the transverse arches that separate it into nine bays, each covered by a slightly domed groin-vault whose major axis is oriented north-south. The arches spring from engaged piers in the west wall to the east wall. The vaults, whose crowns have a height of 8.40 meters, are carried by the arches and the walls. The width of the bays are all the same (5.54 meters) except for those adjacent to the ones at the two ends, which are somewhat narrower (4.97 meters). Two of the gateways opened from the side porticoes of the atrium into the end bays of the exonarthex, and the others led into the three central bays, framed by the piers of the four central flying buttresses on the west façade. The larger central portal was known as the Orea Porta, or the Beautiful Gate, and was apparently decorated sumptuously, since it was the principal entryway to the church, as it is to the museum today.

In the southernmost bay of the exonarthex is the so-called sarcophagus of the empress Eirene, wife of John Comnenus (r. 1118–43); both the empress and the emperor are portrayed in a mosaic in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia. The sarcophagus, a massive work in verd antique, was found outside the Church of the Pantokrator on the Fourth Hill, which Eirene and John had erected. The sarcophagus remained outside the Pantokrator until the late 1950s, when it was moved to the exonarthex of Hagia Sophia.

There are also doors of Turkish workmanship at either end of the exonarthex. These may have replaced earlier Byzantine portals, and they lead to the minarets at the western corners.

The exonarthex is lighted by windows in the two bays flanking the three central doors. The windows on either side of the central doors are round-arched apertures that fill the whole façade of those bays, while the others are rectangular openings of the same form as the portals flanking the Orea Porta.

Five doors in alternate bays of the exonarthex lead into the narthex (Fig. 42), which is much wider (9.60 meters) and higher (13.40 meters) than the outer vestibule. The narthex is divided by flat bow-shaped transverse arches into nine bays, of which the five at the center are slightly wider than those at the ends. Each of the bays is covered by a domical cross-vault whose major axis is oriented east-west. The transverse arches spring from engaged piers in the west



42. Hagia Sophia, the narthex, looking north

wall to the east wall, those at the two ends resting partly on the north and south walls, the other eight standing clear. The longitudinal arches are semicircular and rest on the east and west walls. The arches on the east are filled in to form lunettes, while those on the west stand clear as far as the extension of the piers from which they spring. The narthex is lighted by windows in the lunettes of the eastern arches in each of the nine bays, above the roof of the exonarthex, as well as by windows in the lunettes of the north and south walls, though the latter are obscured by the porches at those ends.

Narthex Marbles

A great variety of rare and beautiful marbles are used for the revetment of the walls of the narthex, a superb decoration that is also used in the walls and piers of the church interior. Besides the marbles used for the columns and piers in the church, the Silentiary, who "sings the marble meadows," mentions at least eight different kinds: the deep green porphyry from Mount Taygetus near Sparta; a fresh green from Karystos in the island of Euboea; the rose-red Phrygian marble from Synnada and a variegated one from Hierapolis in Caria; "Iasian, with slanting veins of blood red on livid white," probably from Lacedaemon; a marble of "crocus yellow glittering like gold," from Simittu Colonia near Tunis; one from the Pyrenees, "the product of the Celtic crags, like

milk poured on a flesh of glittering black"; and finally the precious onyx, like alabaster, honey colored and translucent. Some of these marbles, like the giallo antico from Simittu Colonia, must have been spolia from older buildings. In order to obtain the elaborate symmetrical patterns of each panel, the thin blocks of marble were sawn in two, sometimes in four, and opened out like a book so that the natural veining of the stone was reduplicated. Those observing these patterns have imagined in the veined panels likenesses of men and animals, devils and angels, giving form to the legends that attach themselves to every stone of this ancient building.

The commonest type of marble used in the building is that from the island of Proconnesus in the Sea of Marmara, whose ancient quarries are still in use. (*Marble* is *marmara* in Greek and *mermer* in Turkish.) It is a soft gray-white, streaked with gray or black, and is used for the floor, the frames of doors and windows, parts of the wall surfaces, the eight rectangular pillars at the ends of the ground-floor aisles, and the twenty-four aisle columns of the galleries.

Narthex Doors

There are doors leading into the nave from each of the nine bays of the narthex. These are in three groups of three, each group arranged symmetrically. The groups are separated by the two western subsidiary piers; the three larger central portals open directly into the nave, and the smaller gates on the sides lead to the aisles. The three portals in the central group were the so-called Royal Gates, and the middle and largest one was known as the Imperial Gate, since it was reserved for the use of the emperor and his entourage. The Imperial Gate is aligned with the central gate leading from the exonarthex to the narthex, but the other portals are not lined up with one another.

The door frames of the gates on either side of the narthex and its ends are framed with Proconnesian marble, with crosses still evident on their lintels. The jambs of the two portals flanking the Imperial Gate are of green Molossian marble, as are their lintels on the side facing the narthex. On the side facing the nave, however, the lintel of the northern gate is of Molossian marble, while that of the southern one is of Proconnesian marble.

The Imperial Gate is surmounted by a casketlike cornice; this and the marble frame of the portal are sheathed in dark bronze, elaborately decorated in relief. One particularly interesting relief, in the middle of the cornice over the central axis of the doorway, shows an archway on columns framing an open book, the Gospels, resting on a throne, above which a dove representing the Holy Ghost is flying straight downward. The inscription across the pages of the book is from John 19:7–9, with omissions: "The Lord hath said, 'I am the door of the sheep; by me if any man enter in, he shall go in and out, and find pasture.'"

The Imperial Gate and most of the other doors in the narthex and exonarthex have two wooden leaves covered with bronze, with relief decorations in which large crosses and circular bosses predominate. This is also true of the

doors at the north and south ends of the narthex, both of which were preceded by porches, the northern one being a Turkish addition. The northern porch gives access to a ramp that leads up to the westernmost bay of the north gallery, via seven roughly paved inclines winding counterclockwise around a spine wall. There are also ramps at the southwest and southeast corners of the building, but currently these are not used.

Nonfigural Narthex Mosaics

The gold tesserae glittering on the vaults of the narthex are part of the original mosaic decoration of Justinian's church. The great dome, the semidomes, the north and south tympana, and the vaults of the narthex, aisles, and gallery – a total area of more than four acres – were covered with gold mosaics, which, according to the Silentiary, resembled the midday sun in spring gilding the mountain heights. It is clear from his description and that of Procopius that in Justinian's time there were no figural mosaics in the church. A great deal of the Justinianic mosaic survives, in the vaults of the narthex and the side aisles as well as in the thirteen ribs of the dome of Isidorus that have never fallen. The mosaic consists of large areas of plain gold ground adorned around the edges of architectural forms with bands of geometrical or floral designs in various colors. Simple crosses in outline on the crowns of vaults and the soffits of arches are constantly repeated, and the Silentuary writes that there was a cross of this kind on the crown of the great dome. This exceedingly simple but brilliant decoration must have been very effective indeed.

Mosaic over the Imperial Gate

The figurative mosaics that have survived in Hagia Sophia are all from after the iconoclastic period, whose second and last phase ended in 843, for during that turbulent era virtually all religious images in the city were destroyed. The panel (Fig. 43) in the lunette above the Imperial Gate in the narthex was the second figurative mosaic to be uncovered in the restoration project that the Byzantine Institute began in 1932. The mosaic shows Christ seated on a jewelled throne, his feet resting on a stool. He has raised his right hand in a gesture of blessing, and in his left hand he holds open a book with this inscription: "Peace be with you, I am the Light of the World." At the left, a crowned figure with a beard and halo prostrates himself before the throne, his hands outstretched in supplication. Above, on either side of the throne, are two roundels, the one on the left containing a bust of the Blessed Virgin and the other one the bust of an angel carrying a staff or wand. It is thought that the imperial figure may the Emperor Leo VI, the Wise (r. 886–912), in which case the mosaic would probably date from the period of his reign. The position of the mosaic can seen as a "cue" for the ceremonial carried out here, where the emperor would prostrate himself in proskynesis before entering the church.



43. Hagia Sophia, mosaic over the Imperial Gate in the narthex, showing Leo VI kneeling before Christ

The Vestibule of the Warriors

The porch beyond the southern end of the narthex is probably the one known as the Vestibule of the Warriors. This was where, in the later Byzantine period, the emperor entered Hagia Sophia with his bodyguard, some of whom waited here for his return while the others disarmed and accompanied him into the church. The porch is a long and narrow chamber of somewhat irregular plan, being 0.55 meters wider at the south than at the north. It is covered by three cross-vaults of unequal size that bear no relation to the room below, a fact that has led to the suggestion that the porch was added after the original construction of the church. If so, then the addition must have been made soon afterward, perhaps during the reconstruction of 558–63, because the gold mosaics on the vaults of the vestibule are from Justinian's reign.

Mosaic in the Vestibule of the Warriors

The panel (Fig. 44) in the lunette above the doorway at the inner end of the Vestibule of the Warriors was the first figurative mosaic to be uncovered in the Byzantine Institute's restoration project. The mosaic depicts the Blessed Virgin enthroned in an hieratic pose, holding the Christ child on her lap, as she receives two haloed emperors, as evidenced by their crowns and imperial costumes. The



44. Hagia Sophia, view from the Vestibule of the Warriors into the narthex; mosaic of the Virgin and Christ child with Constantine and Justinian over the door

figure on the right, identified by an inscription as "Constantine, the great emperor among the saints," offers the Virgin a model of a walled city representing Constantinople. The figure on the left, identified as "Justinian, the illustrious emperor," offers her a model of a church recognizable as Hagia Sophia. The mosaic is dated to the last quarter of the tenth century and is thought to have been commissioned by Basil II (r. 976–1025), who was known as Bulgaroctonos, the Bulgar Slayer, because of his bloody victories over the Bulgars who had invaded the empire.

The portal at the south end of the vestibule is now permanently open, its two leaves held against the side walls by the raised floor. The bronze face of the inner side of each of the leaves has two recessed panels, the upper panel half again as tall as the lower, their borders elaborately decorated with bands of reliefs.

Within each of the panels, near their top and bottom, there are monograms set within a circle around a cross. These monograms give the names of the Emperor Theophilus (r. 829–42), his wife Theodora, and their son Michael III (r. 842–67), as well as the date 841.

Subsidiary Structures

The portal at the south end of the Vestibule of the Warriors was known as the Gate of the Horologion. The Horologion, or Clock Tower, now vanished, stood just outside this gate to the west, near the southwestern corner of the church.

Opposite the site of the Horologion, on the east side of the gate, is the southeast access ramp, now disused, which led to the westernmost bay of the south gallery. The ramp would also have given access to the upper rooms of the patriarchal palace, which probably extended along the southern side of the church near its southwest corner. All that remains of the palace are two rooms above the Vestibule of the Warriors, which will be described when the galleries are examined.

The structure just to the south of the southwest access ramp is the baptistery. This and the other structures around Haghia Sophia will be described later, after a full examination of the interior of the church.

The emperor and his party, in approaching the interior of the church from the Vestibule of the Warriors, would have followed the directions given by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in his *Book of Ceremonies:* "The princes remove their crowns, kiss the holy Gospel carried by the archdeacon, greet the patriarch and proceed to the Imperial Gate. Bearing the candles and bowing thrice, they enter the church after a prayer is pronounced by the patriarch."[8]

The Nave

The first and abiding impression on entering the nave (Fig. 45) is of a vast contained space pierced by shafts of moted sunlight. Four enormous and irregularly shaped piers, built of ashlar stone cushioned with lead, stand in a square approximately 31 meters on a side. From these piers rise four great arches, and between them there are four pendentives, spherical triangles that make the transition from square to circle. Upon the cornice of the circle so formed rests the great dome (Plate VIII), whose crown is approximately fifty-six meters above the pavement, about the height of a fifteen-storey building. The great height of the dome can perhaps be appreciated by examples of structures that could be placed under its crown, including the Leaning Tower of Pisa, the church of Notre Dame without its bell tower, and the Statue of Liberty without its pedestal.

Pairs of secondary piers projecting inward from the east and west ends of the nave support the two great semidomes (Fig. 46), which give the nave its vast length, a full eighty meters. Each of the semidomes connects with one of the main north-south arches and rests on a barrel vault supported by a pair of



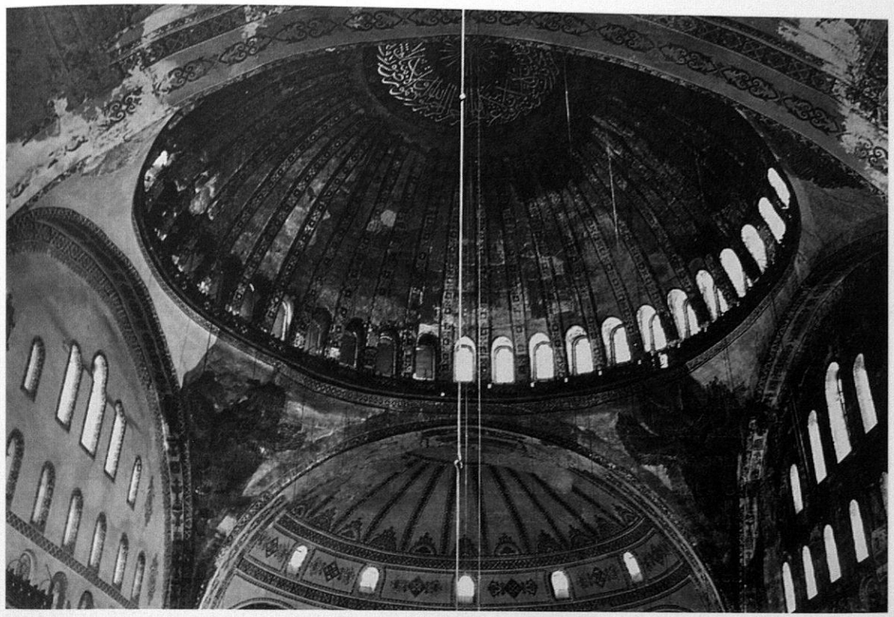
45. Hagia Sophia, view of the nave from the west gallery

secondary piers (Fig. 47). At the four corners of the nave there are semicircular exedrae covered by smaller semidomes, each of which is supported by one of the main piers and a secondary pier. At the east end, the semicircular apse is covered by a semidome somewhat larger than those over the exedrae, joining at its western side the barrel vault east of the eastern semidome. There are rings of small windows around each of the eastern semidomes (though some of these are now blocked) as well as six large windows in the apse. At the west end of the nave, instead of a semidome over the apse, there is a large, almost semicircular window, the biggest one in the building.

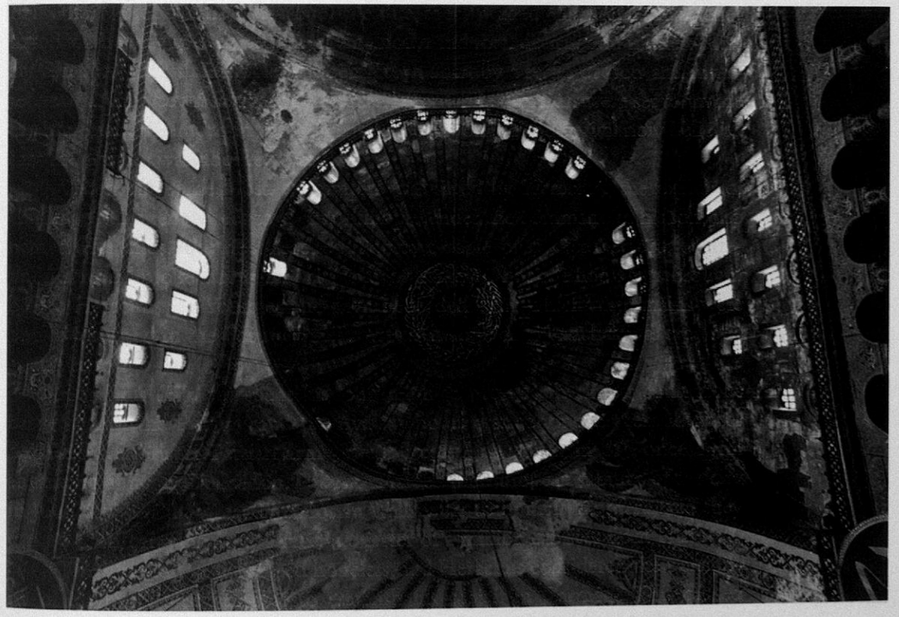
The nave is flanked by side aisles that project beyond the north and south ends of the narthex. Above these aisles and the narthex are the galleries, which thus extend around the north, west, and south sides of the church, looking down upon the nave.

The central arches to north and south are filled with tympanum walls pierced by twelve windows, seven in the lower row, five in the upper, of which the three central ones originally formed a kind of triple arcade. All these windows have in Turkish times been considerably reduced in size, probably by the architect Sinan during his restoration in the years 1572–4.

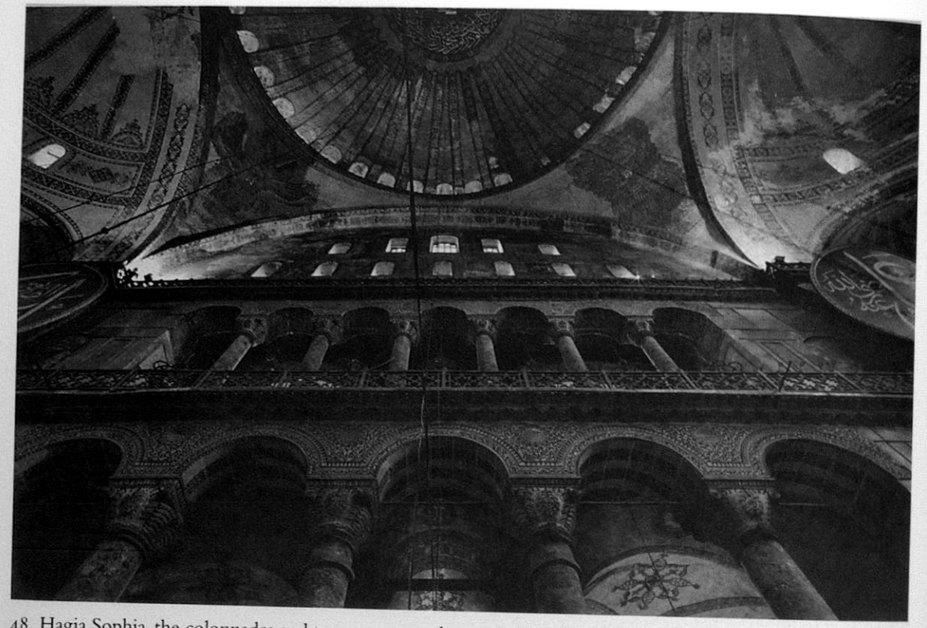
Between the great piers on the north and south, four monolithic columns of verd antique support the galleries, while above six columns of the same stone carry



46. Hagia Sophia, the dome, the east semidome, and the tympana



47. Hagia Sophia, the dome and its four supporting arches, with the mosaics of seraphim or cherubim in the pendentives



48. Hagia Sophia, the colonnades and tympanum on the south side of the nave

the tympana (Figs. 48, 49). There are also two-tiered colonnades in each of the exedrae, with two massive monoliths of porphyry on white marble pedestals below and six columns of verd antique above. The upper colonnades (Fig. 50) in the exedrae (Fig. 51) are longer than the lower ones, the greater length being achieved by reducing the size of the secondary piers at gallery level. All of the lower colonnades are taller than the upper ones, and the columns are spaced farther apart.

Four great buttresses projecting from the north and south walls opposite the central piers help to consolidate the whole fabric. Each of these buttresses has a pair of projections carrying bracing arches to the pier in the nave, at both ground and gallery levels.

The Side Aisles

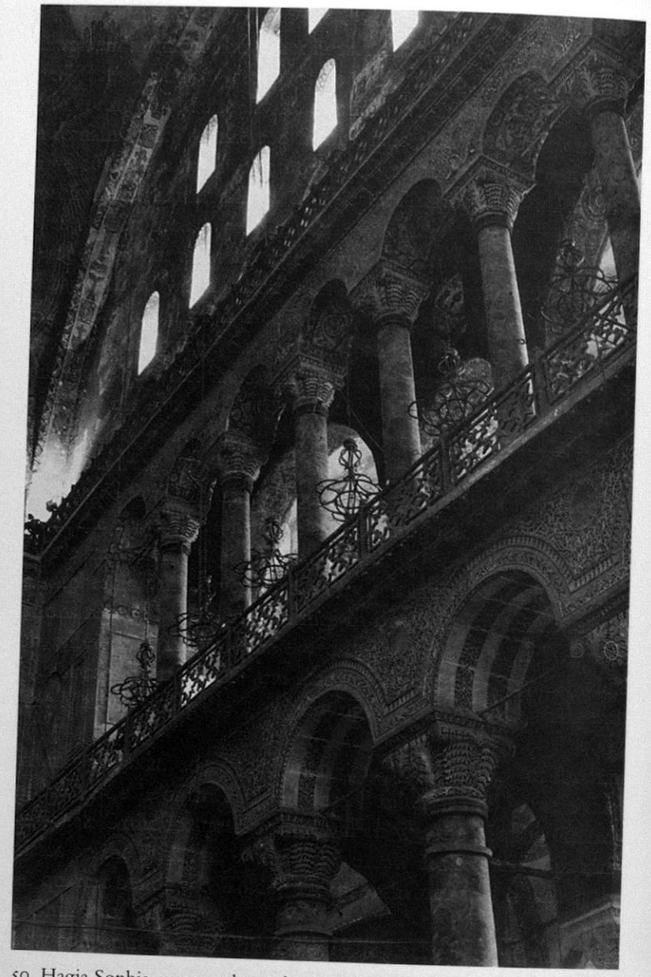
The side aisles are delineated by low stylobates where they open into the nave through the colonnades. There were also barrel-vaulted passages to the aisles from the two ends of the nave, but those on the east end have been blocked off.

Each of the side aisles (Fig. 52) has a series of bays differing from one another in size and shape. Each of the main piers is joined with a buttress pier by barrel vaults, which separates the large central bay from the slightly shorter and highly irregular bays at the two ends. Two slightly domical groin vaults cover the central bay, while a similar but larger vault spans each of the end bays, with barrel vaults



49. Hagia Sophia, lower colonnade on the north side of the nave

linking them to the piers and end walls. Part of the support for these vaults is provided by four freestanding columns in each bay, those in the center spaced close together between the two vaults. All of these columns except those at the two ends of each aisle are verd antique monoliths similar to those in the central colonnades of the nave (including their capitals and bases), though they are much shorter. The outer pairs at the east and west ends of the aisle are of white marble and are square in cross-section, tapering slightly; their capitals are different from the others and are capped by decorated impost blocks. Similar impost blocks on the capitals in the two other columns in the end bays extend outward to the faces of the nearby piers. The four columns in the central bay are in line with the two columns in the middle of the principal colonnade in the nave, with the main groin vaults curving

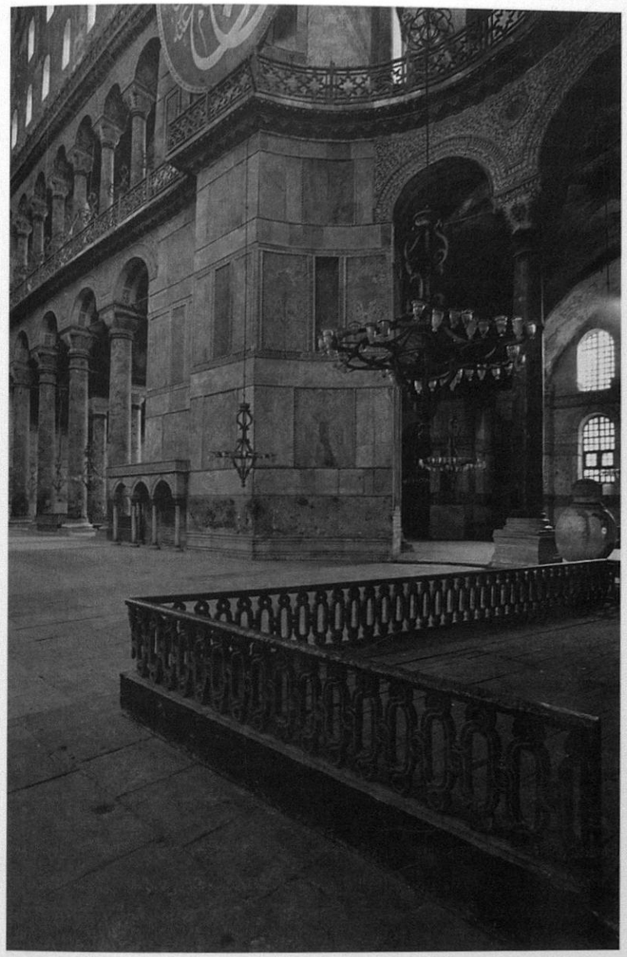


50. Hagia Sophia, upper colonnade on the south side of the nave

from them to the piers while a transverse barrel vault covers the space between the two pairs of columns and the arches that spring between them.

The imperial metatorion, or loge, seems to have been in the south aisle, perhaps in the easternmost bay, although Thomas Mathews places it just to the west of the main southeast pier. The imperial loge is mentioned by the Silentiary in a passage that places it in the south aisle:

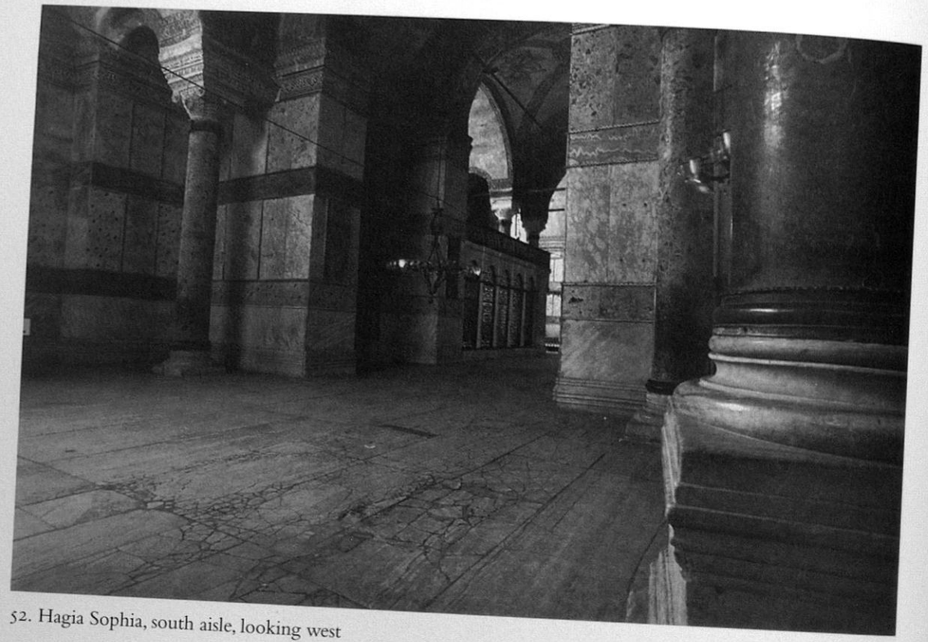
> On the south side you will see a long aisle just like that at the north, but it has something more; for it has a space set apart by a wall for the Emperor of the Romans on solemn feast days. Here my King, seated on his customary throne, gives ear to the sacred books.[9]



51. Hagia Sophia, southwest pier and exedra

The Columns and Other Marbles in the Nave

Much has been written about the provenance of the various columns in the church. The Anonymous of Banduri, an unreliable Byzantine writer, is the chief source of various legends that have grown up and are still repeated about the provenance of the great columns of the nave: the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, some buildings at Rome, the Temple of Artemis at Ephesous – the tale differs with the teller. But there seems to be no foundation for these stories, and there is every reason to believe that most of the columns, if not all, were specially quarried for Hagia Sophia. According to the Silentiary's description, there can be little doubt that that the eight monolithic verd antique columns of the nave, the sixteen



52. Hagia Sophia, south aisle, looking west

columns of the aisles, the forty columns of the gallery arcade, and all of the slabs verd antique used in the building were expressly hewn for Hagia Sophia from the quarries in Thessaly near Molossis. But the eight porphyry columns in the exedrae (Fig. 53) present a problem. This is because the porphyry mountain at Djebel Dochan near Thebes had ceased to be quarried in the fifth century. If this is true, the eight exedrae columns – which, incidentally, differ from one another very appreciably in height and diameter – must have been taken from some older building. But there is no evidence to connect them to any particular ancient edifice; if they were not quarried at Djebel Dochan, then their provenance is simply unknown.

Other types of decoration in rare marbles are also found in the church. The great square of *opus Alexandrinium* in the pavement toward the southeast of the nave has always attracted attention. Probably a later insertion, it is chiefly composed of circles of granite, red and green porphyry, and verd antique. According to Antony, archbishop of Novgorod, who visited Hagia Sophia in 1200, the emperor's throne stood on the square and was surrounded by a bronze enclosure.

Some equally interesting panels can be seen above the Imperial Gate: Slabs of verd antique alternate with inlaid panels of various marbles. At the top is an elaborate ciborium with drawn curtains revealing a cross on an altar; lower down are other panels with ovals of porphyry, those at the bottom surrounded by pairs of stylized dolphins with foliate tails gobbling up tiny squid with waving tentacles. Finally, in the spandrels above the nave and gallery arcades is a rich and magnificent frieze of sectile work with scrolls of leaves and flowers and "birds perched on the twigs."



53. Hagia Sophia, southwest exedra

The Capitals

The capitals of the columns are famous and splendid. There are several different types, but all are alike in having the surface decoration of acanthus and palm foliage deeply overcut so that they produce an effect of white lace on a dark ground; it is possible that they were once gilded. (This type of decoration first appears in Anicia Juliana's Church of St. Polyeuctus and is also used in Justinian's Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus.) The commonest of the capitals – those of the nave and gallery arcades – are generally known as the bowl type: Ionic volutes support a decorated abacus beneath which the bowl-shaped body of the capital is adorned with stylized acanthus leaves, in the center of which, at front and back,

is a medallion containing a monogram (Plate IX). These monograms are difficult to read, but when deciphered they give the names Justinian and Theodora and the imperial titles Basileus and Augusta. The capitals of the sixteen verd antique columns of the aisles are of similar type but smaller in scale. Those of the eight rectangular pillars at the ends of the aisles are closely related, only here the bowl, instead of becoming circular toward its base, remains square throughout, since the pillar itself is square. One of these rectangular pillars, the northwest one in the north aisle, is the subject of ancient legend. Antony of Novgorod reports it thus: "One sees on the side the column of St. Gregory the Miracle-Worker covered with bronze plates. St. Gregory appeared near the column, and the people kiss and rub their breasts and shoulders against it to be cured of their pains." [10] Centuries of credulous pilgrims have worn a hole in the metal plate and into the metal column itself, for the moisture contained in the cavity has always been considered a specific against eye diseases and a nostrum for fertility. It is often claimed that the moisture in this little hole is drawn up through the column from the cisterns that are supposed to be under the church. But these cisterns are themselves a legend, for recent studies have shown that they do not exist.

Pavement Marbles

The paving in the nave is in marble slabs divided by four transverse bands of green Thessalian marble, varying in width between 0.50 and 0.70 meters. As George P. Majeska has pointed out, Byzantine sources likened these bands to the four rivers that flowed from paradise. The first band (numbering from the west) is approximately 16.75 meters from the threshold of the doors leading into the nave, its western edge about 2.10 meters west of the flat nave side of the western piers. This is the least well preserved of the four bands, with only about twelve percent of its original length remaining *in situ*. The second band, of which thirty-five percent survives, is 9.10 meters east of the first, its eastern edge approximately aligned with the eastern side of the western piers. The third band is 8.90 meters west of the second, roughly aligned with the second columns from the west in the aisle colonnades. This is the best preserved of the four bands, with eighty-seven percent of the original length still in place. The fourth of the bands, of which twenty-one percent survives, has a more complicated zigzag form. The best preserved sections extend inward from the east ends of the flat south faces of the western piers. The band then bends south for about the same distance, aligned with the flat inner faces of the subsidiary piers at the east and west ends of the nave. The central section of the band then connects the two east-west stretches, its southern corner now lost under the great square of *opus Alexandrinium*.

Christian Liturgical Structures and Furnishings

Virtually nothing now remains of the structures and furnishings associated with the Christian liturgy in Hagia Sophia, but from the Silentiary's poem the main features of the church can be established.

Around the periphery of the apse ran the synthronon, seven tiers of seats for the clergy, and at the center was the cathedra, or patriarchal throne. The lower stalls were apparently sheathed in silver, according to the Silentiary's description:

> The middle apse holds the stalls and steps ranged circle-wise. Some on the level of the ground are massed close together round the center; and as they are higher, with the spaces between them, they widen out little by little, until they come to the stalls of silver. Thus with increasing circles they ever wheel round a fixed circle on the pavement. [11]

The clergy and staff of Hagia Sophia in Justinian's time numbered 525, but by the following century, during the reign of Heraclius (r. 610–41), the number had increased to 600, divided thus: 80 presbyters, 150 deacons, 40 deaconesses, 70 subdeacons, 160 readers, 25 singers, and 75 doorkeepers.

The raised eastern part of the church constituted the bema, or sanctuary, which is thus described by the Silentiary: "Now the apse is separated [from the nave] between vertical walls [those of the subsidiary eastern piers] built on strong foundations, with an arch above [i.e., the bema arch, framing the apse]."

The chancel screen was three sided, its two lateral wings extending westward from the inner faces of the subsidiary piers, along the same line as the east-west stretches of the fourth band of green marble. According to the Silentiary, the screen had twelve columns; apparently these were arrayed with six in front and four on each side, counting corner columns twice. There were three doors for the clergy, known as the Holy Gates, placed symmetically in the three colonnades, the one in front surmounted by a round arch. Aside from the doorways, there was a low parapet between the columns, above which was the architrave. The parapet, columns, and architrave were all sheathed in silver decorated with incised discs bearing sacred images and monograms of Justinian and Theodora. According to the Silentiary,

> For as much of the great church by the eastern arch was set apart for the bloodless sacrifices, no ivory, no stone, nor bronze distinguishes, but it is all fenced with the silver metal. Not only on the walls which separate the priests from the crowd of singers [the choir], has he placed mere plates of silver, but he has covered all the columns themselves with the silver metal, even six sets of twain; and the rays of light glitter far and wide. Upon them the tool has formed dazzling circles, beautifully wrought in skilled symmetry by the craftsman's hand, in the center of which is carved the symbol of the Immaculate God, who took upon Himself the form of man. In parts stand up an army of winged angels in pairs . . . and elsewhere the tool has fashioned the heralds of the way of God. . . . In other parts art has limmed the Mother of Christ, the vessel of eternal Light, whose womb brought him forth in holy travail.
>
> But on the middle panels of the sacred screen, which forms the barrier for the priests, the carver's art has cut one letter that means

many words [i.e., a monogram], for it combines the name of our king and queen.[12]

The altar stood behind the chancel screen at the rear of its central axis, surmounted by a ciborium, a four-arched structure supporting a canopy in the form of an eight-sided pyramid. According to the Silentiary, the columns and table of the altar were made of gold, the latter set with precious stones, while the columns and arches of the ciborium were silver:

> And on columns of gold is raised the all gold slab of the holy table, standing on gold foundations, and bright with the glitter of different stones.
>
> And above the all-holy table of gold rises in the air a tower indescribable, reared on fourfold arches of silver. And it is borne aloft on silver columns, on whose tops every arch rests its silver feet. And above the arches rises a figure like a cone, yet it is not complete. For at the bottom its edge does not turn round in the circular form, but has an eight-sided base, and from a broad plan it gradually diminishes to a sharp point, having eight sides of silver.[13]

Extending westward from the central door of the chancel screen was a raised walkway known as the solea, with a low parapet of marble slabs. This led to the ambo, a monumental pulpit that stood under the great dome somewhat to the east of its center, probably between the flat inner sides of the eastern piers. The raised platform of the ambo, a circular slab of stone, was approached by steps from the solea and from its western end, with both the platform and the stairs shielded by parapets sheathed in silver. The eastern stairway would have passed through the easternmost section of the fourth band of green marble. The platform was supported on eight columns, the space beneath it used by a small choir. This platform itself stood on a wider circular base screened by eight columns similar to those of the chancel screen, with low marble parapets between them to shield the choir. The Silentiary's lengthy description of the ambo begins with an outline of its plan:

> Now in the central space of the wide temple, yet tending rather toward the east, rises a tower [the ambo], fair to look upon, set apart for the reading of the sacred books. Upright, it stands on steps, reached by two flights, one of which stretches towards the west, but the other towards the dawn. So are they opposite to one another, and both lead to a space formed like a circle.[14]

The Silentiary gives a long description of the lighting fixtures in Hagia Sophia, including the numerous chandeliers suspended from the cornice of the dome, as well as the lamps elsewhere in the church. He gives a particularly lyrical description of the lamps atop the architrave of the chancel screen, of the candles arranged in the form of cypress trees, and of a huge cruciform lamp that stood above the central door.

> There is also, on the silver columns of the iconostasis, above their capitals, a narrow way of access for the lamplighters, glittering with bright clusters; these one might compare to the mountain-nourished pine or cypress with fresh branches. From a point ever-widening circles spread down until the very last is reached . . . and bowls of silver are placed beneath the trees, with their flaming flowers. And in the center of this beauteous wood, the form of the divine cross, pierced with the print of nails, shines with light for mortal eyes. . . . Thus through the temple wanders the evening light, brightly shining.[15]

The chandeliers in the church would have held oil lamps, which continued to be used when the building was converted into a mosque but were finally replaced by electric lights in the early years of the twentieth century.

Islamic Structures and Decorations

When Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque, the *mihrap* and *mimber* were oriented toward Mecca, which is some ten degrees south of the main axis of the church. The raised floor of the apse, reoriented to line up with the *mihrap* and *mimber,* is thus askew with the longitudinal axis of the building. The present *mihrap* and *mimber* are undistinguished structures dating from the Fossati restorations of 1847–49, as is the gilded sultan's loge against the subsidiary northeast pier.

The Fossatis were also responsible for the eight huge green *levhas,* or painted wooden plaques, which hang from the piers at gallery level. These were done by the calligrapher Mustafa Izzet Efendi and bear in golden letters the sacred Islamic names, those of Allah; the Prophet Mohammed; the first four caliphs; Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali; and the first imams; Hassan and Hüseyin, sons of Ali.

The Islamic inscription in the dome is also by Mustafa Izzet Efendi. This is a quotation from the Koran: "In the name of God the Merciful and Pitiful: God is the light of Heaven and Earth. His light is Himself, not that which shines through glass or gleams in the morning star or glows in the firebrand." This replaced a Byzantine mosaic of Christ Pantokrator, which had been covered or removed in 1609 on orders from Ahmet I (r. 1603–17), along with other figural mosaics.

The oldest objects now remaining in Hagia Sophia from the Ottoman period are the two lustration urns of Proconnesian marble in the west exedrae. These are late classical or early Hellenistic works to which have been added Turkish lids. According to Evliya Çelebi, these were gifts of Murat III, who also built the large *müezzin mahfili,* or *müezzin's* gallery, beside the southeast pier, as well as the smaller enclosures for chanters against the other three piers, all of them in marble. The marble throne in the middle of the north arcade is the *Koran kursu,* the seat where the imam sat when he was reading the Koran; this was a gift of Murat IV (r. 1623–40). The grilled enclosure against the wall in the middle of the south aisle is an elegant Islamic library built in 1739 by Mahmut I.

many words [i.e., a monogram], for it combines the name of our king and queen.[12]

The altar stood behind the chancel screen at the rear of its central axis, surmounted by a ciborium, a four-arched structure supporting a canopy in the form of an eight-sided pyramid. According to the Silentiary, the columns and table of the altar were made of gold, the latter set with precious stones, while the columns and arches of the ciborium were silver:

> And on columns of gold is raised the all gold slab of the holy table, standing on gold foundations, and bright with the glitter of different stones.
>
> And above the all-holy table of gold rises in the air a tower indescribable, reared on fourfold arches of silver. And it is borne aloft on silver columns, on whose tops every arch rests its silver feet. And above the arches rises a figure like a cone, yet it is not complete. For at the bottom its edge does not turn round in the circular form, but has an eight-sided base, and from a broad plan it gradually diminishes to a sharp point, having eight sides of silver.[13]

Extending westward from the central door of the chancel screen was a raised walkway known as the solea, with a low parapet of marble slabs. This led to the ambo, a monumental pulpit that stood under the great dome somewhat to the east of its center, probably between the flat inner sides of the eastern piers. The raised platform of the ambo, a circular slab of stone, was approached by steps from the solea and from its western end, with both the platform and the stairs shielded by parapets sheathed in silver. The eastern stairway would have passed through the easternmost section of the fourth band of green marble. The platform was supported on eight columns, the space beneath it used by a small choir. This platform itself stood on a wider circular base screened by eight columns similar to those of the chancel screen, with low marble parapets between them to shield the choir. The Silentiary's lengthy description of the ambo begins with an outline of its plan:

> Now in the central space of the wide temple, yet tending rather toward the east, rises a tower [the ambo], fair to look upon, set apart for the reading of the sacred books. Upright, it stands on steps, reached by two flights, one of which stretches towards the west, but the other towards the dawn. So are they opposite to one another, and both lead to a space formed like a circle.[14]

The Silentiary gives a long description of the lighting fixtures in Hagia Sophia, including the numerous chandeliers suspended from the cornice of the dome, as well as the lamps elsewhere in the church. He gives a particularly lyrical description of the lamps atop the architrave of the chancel screen, of the candles arranged in the form of cypress trees, and of a huge cruciform lamp that stood above the central door.



> There is also, on the silver columns of the iconostasis, above their capitals, a narrow way of access for the lamplighters, glittering with bright clusters; these one might compare to the mountain-nourished pine or cypress with fresh branches. From a point ever-widening circles spread down until the very last is reached . . . and bowls of silver are placed beneath the trees, with their flaming flowers. And in the center of this beauteous wood, the form of the divine cross, pierced with the print of nails, shines with light for mortal eyes. . . . Thus through the temple wanders the evening light, brightly shining.[15]

The chandeliers in the church would have held oil lamps, which continued to be used when the building was converted into a mosque but were finally replaced by electric lights in the early years of the twentieth century.

Islamic Structures and Decorations

When Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque, the *mihrap* and *mimber* were oriented toward Mecca, which is some ten degrees south of the main axis of the church. The raised floor of the apse, reoriented to line up with the *mihrap* and *mimber,* is thus askew with the longitudinal axis of the building. The present *mihrap* and *mimber* are undistinguished structures dating from the Fossati restorations of 1847–49, as is the gilded sultan's loge against the subsidiary northeast pier.

The Fossatis were also responsible for the eight huge green *levhas,* or painted wooden plaques, which hang from the piers at gallery level. These were done by the calligrapher Mustafa Izzet Efendi and bear in golden letters the sacred Islamic names, those of Allah; the Prophet Mohammed; the first four caliphs; Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali; and the first imams; Hassan and Hüseyin, sons of Ali.

The Islamic inscription in the dome is also by Mustafa Izzet Efendi. This is a quotation from the Koran: "In the name of God the Merciful and Pitiful: God is the light of Heaven and Earth. His light is Himself, not that which shines through glass or gleams in the morning star or glows in the firebrand." This replaced a Byzantine mosaic of Christ Pantokrator, which had been covered or removed in 1609 on orders from Ahmet I (r. 1603–17), along with other figural mosaics.

The oldest objects now remaining in Hagia Sophia from the Ottoman period are the two lustration urns of Proconnesian marble in the west exedrae. These are late classical or early Hellenistic works to which have been added Turkish lids. According to Evliya Çelebi, these were gifts of Murat III, who also built the large *müezzin mahfili,* or *müezzin's* gallery, beside the southeast pier, as well as the smaller enclosures for chanters against the other three piers, all of them in marble. The marble throne in the middle of the north arcade is the *Koran kursu,* the seat where the imam sat when he was reading the Koran; this was a gift of Murat IV (r. 1623–40). The grilled enclosure against the wall in the middle of the south aisle is an elegant Islamic library built in 1739 by Mahmut I.

Apse Mosaic

Little now remains of the mosaics that once adorned the nave of Hagia Sophia. The largest and most beautiful of those that have survived is in the conch of the apse (Plate X). This represents the Blessed Virgin with the Christ Child on her knees. She is dressed in flowing robes of blue with a small cross on the fold of her mantle and one on each shoulder; her right hand rests on the Child's shoulder and her left on his knee. The Child is dressed in gold and wears sandals on his feet; his right hand is raised in blessing while his left holds a scroll. The Virgin sits on a simple benchlike throne adorned with jewels. Under her are two cushions, the lower green, the upper embroidered with clubs like those on playing cards. Beneath her feet is a plinthlike footstool, also bejeweled.

At the bottom of the arch that frames the apse there is a colossal figure of the Archangel Gabriel. He wears an undergarment known as a divitision, over which is thrown a chlamys, or cloak of white silk. His great wings, reaching nearly to his feet, are of brightly colored feathers, chiefly green, blue, and white. In his right hand he holds a staff, in his left a crystal globe through which can be seen his thumb. Although the upper part of his left side and the top of his right wing are lost, he is nevertheless a fine and striking figure. Opposite, on the north side of the arch, can be seen only a few sad feathers of the wings of the Archangel Michael.

On the face of the apse conch, one can read the first three and the last nine letters of an inscription in Greek, of which the whole of the middle part is now missing. The inscription was an iambic couplet that once read thus: "These icons the deceivers once cast down / The pious emperors have again restored."

The apse mosaic was unveiled by the Patriarch Photius on Easter Sunday 867. This was a momentous occasion, for it signfied the final triumph of the Orthodox iconodules, those who supported icon veneration, over the iconoclasts, and thenceforth sacred images were restored to the churches of Byzantium. The pious emperors referred to here are Michael III, the Sot (r. 842–67), and his protégé, Basil I, the Macedonian (r. 867–86). Basil had been made co-emperor by Michael in May 867, and in September of the following year he murdered his benefactor and usurped the throne, thereby beginning the illustrious Macedonian dynasty that was to rule Byzantium for nearly two centuries.

Mosaics of John V Palaeologus

On the soffit of the eastern arch are three faint figures in mosaic, accidentally uncovered when part of the plaster covering them fell off in the early 1990s. The mosaics are known from drawings done by the Fossatis during their restorations. They represent the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, and the emperor John V Palaeologus (r. 1341–91) and all date from *c.* 1354.

Mosaics of the Church Fathers

Three mosaic portraits of sainted Church Fathers are located in niches at the base of the north tympanum wall and are visible from the nave. In the first niche from the west is St. Ignatius the Younger (patriarch of Constantinople 847–58 and 867–77), in the second is St. John Chrysostom (patriarch of Constantinople 398–404), and in the fifth is St. Ignatius Theophorus of Antioch. All three figure are nearly identical except for the faces. Each is clad in sacerdotal robes, the most striking of which is the wide omophorion, or stole, with two large crosses below the shoulders and a third just below the knee. Each holds in his left hand, which is concealed below his cloak, a large book with bejeweled binding. St. Ignatius the younger appears to be touching the top of the book with his right hand, while the other two each have their right hand raised in blessing. The faces get older the farther east one goes: the first Ignatius is young and beardless (because he was a eunuch), with a very ascetic face; St. John is in early middle age, his narrow, compressed lips hardly suggesting the "Golden Mouth" from which he receives his name, Chrysostomos; St. Ignatius Theophorus is an old man with a beard.

Mosaics in the Pendentives

The only other mosaics visible from the nave are the famous six-winged seraphim or cherubim in the eastern pendentives. (Those in the western pendentives are imitations in paint done by the Fossatis at the time of their restoration in 1847–49.) These have never been entirely covered, and their faces were sometimes exposed, sometimes covered, most recently by the Fossati's gold-starred medallions, which are still in place. It is not certain whether these heavenly creatures are intended to be seraphim or cherubim; the former are said by Isaiah to have, like these, six wings – "With twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly," – and Ezekiel says that cherubim had only four (or eight) wings. But as Cyril Mango amusingly remarks, Byzantine artists do not seem to have understood or observed the distinction between the two Orders, and he suggests that perhaps we have here one of each. Professor Mango points out that, because both pendentives were largely destroyed in the collapse of 1346, the mosaics must be subsequent to that time; they doubtless belong to the period of restoration after the collapse, between 1346 and 1355. But they certainly replace, and perhaps copy, older mosaics of the same subject.

The Galleries

The galleries extend above the narthex and the two side aisles. The Silentiary writes that these were the *gynaecea,* the women's sections: "And whoever mounts, will find on both sides of the church the aisles for women similar to

those below, and there is yet another, though not like those on either side, above the narthex."[16] Although they were called *gynaecea,* the galleries were never used exclusively by women, and in fact the word is a generic term for a gallery.

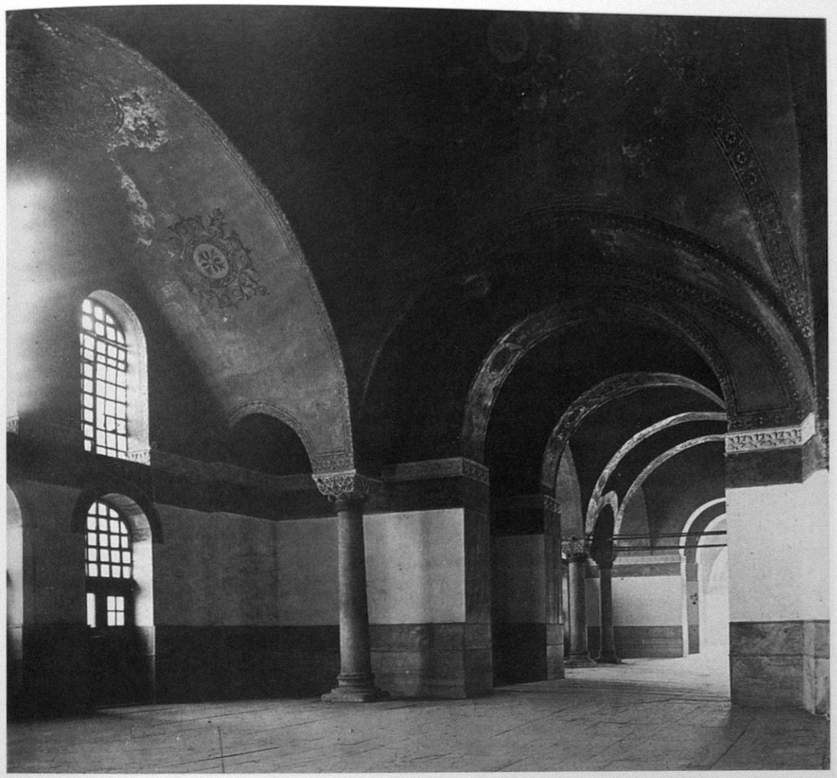
There are low marble parapets across all of the openings in the gallery. The railing of the parapet in the central bay of the south gallery has a runic inscription that may have been carved by one of the Varangian guards who served the emperor. The panels are decorated on both faces with reliefs, the designs being principally lozenges and crosses, some of the latter having been effaced. The reliefs are not visible from below, being hidden by the wooden railings extending around the cornice, which projects outward for nearly a meter from the periphery of the gallery.

The plan at gallery level corresponds closely to that at the ground. The west gallery has exactly the same plan as the narthex below, opening into the side galleries directly above the side doorways into the aisles.

The western gallery differs from the narthex below it principally in its vaulting, since it is covered by a simple barrel vault that extends from one end to the other. The gallery is lighted by nine large windows along the west wall of the building. At the center of the gallery on its inside, above the three central doors leading from the narthex into the nave, there is an arcade of three arches carried on two paired columns of verd antique, each pair sharing a single capital. Between the arches, at the points where they spring from the columns, there are timber tie-beams encased in decorative wooden casings carved with representations of leaves and vines. The parapet in the arcade has built into it four shorter colonnettes, two between the columns and one on each side, placed symmetrically; these support candelebra on their capitals. Set into the pavement between the columns is a circle of green Thessalian marble, which was apparently where the throne of the empress stood, commanding a majestic view of the nave.

The north (Fig. 54) and south galleries have almost the same plan as that of the aisles below, with a series of four domical groin vaults interspersed with smaller barrel-vaulted bays. One factor creating differences is that the upper colonnades are more closely spaced than the lower ones. Another is the greater length of the gallery arcades in the exedrae (Fig. 55), which, as noted earlier, necessitated reduction in the width of the secondary piers at that level. Still another factor is that there is a north-south tunnel through the main northwest pier at gallery level, whereas all of the other piers, main and secondary, are solid, though it appears that they too originally were tunneled through in the same manner.

Aside from these slight differences in plan, the general impression given by the north and south galleries is different than that of the side aisles for other reasons: the much lower heights of the vaults, which are not the same as those below and have lost most of their mosaics; the much greater natural light from the large windows, and the poorer condition of the marble revetment. The lower height of the groin vaults, as well as the fact that they are more domelike, make the galleries appear more spacious than the side aisles.



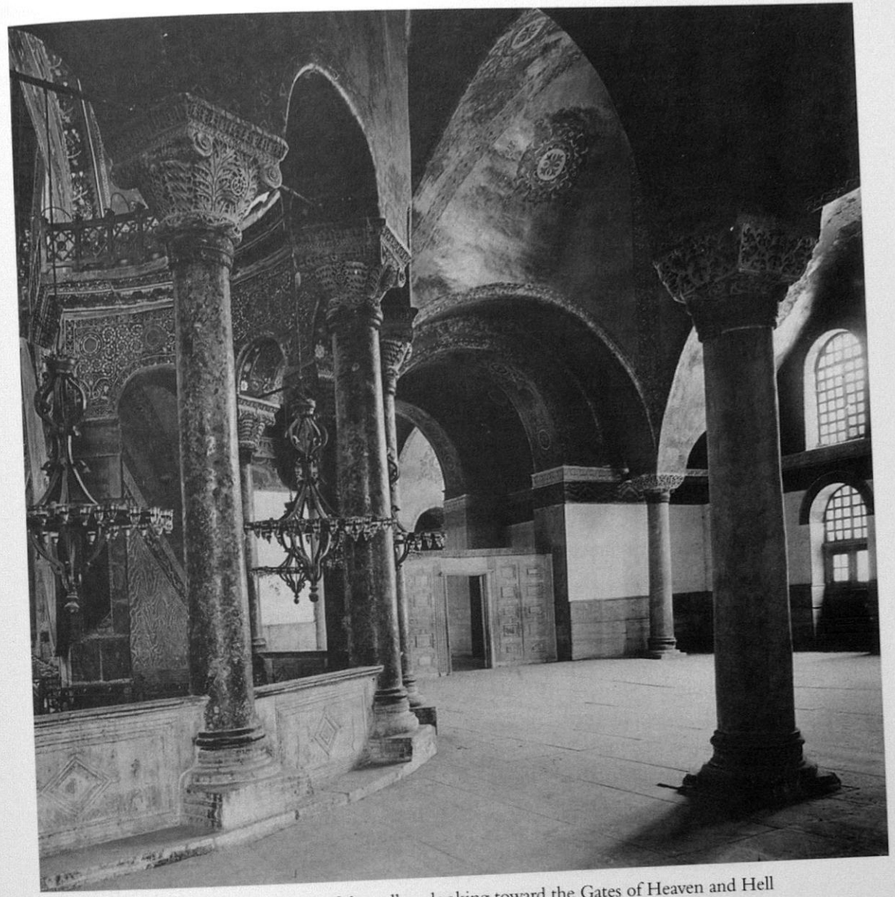
54. Hagia Sophia, north gallery, looking east

The columns supporting the vaults in the north and south galleries correspond to those in the side aisles, though they are shorter, are of uniform height, and are made of white marble. Their capitals are different from those of the nave colonnades; with one exception, they are flaring impost blocks with small Ionic volutes placed diagonally under the corners, the entire surface decorated with a deeply cut lacelike pattern in the form of vegetal scrolls.

Rooms of the Patriarchal Palace

At the south end of the west gallery a doorway leads to the two rooms of the patriarchal palace mentioned earlier. The door at the south end of the west gallery opens into the first of these two rooms, which is directly above the Vestibule of the Warriors. The second room, somewhat smaller and irregular in plan, is immediately to the west of the first one. These rooms, which are not open to the public, have been





6. Hagia Sophia, northwest corner of the gallery, looking toward the Gates of Heaven and Hell

screen has been referred to, for some now unknown reason, as the Gates of Heaven and Hell.

Nonfigural Gallery Mosaics

Most of the original nonfigural mosaic decoration that has survived in the galleries is on the soffits of the nave arcades and nearby areas of the vaults. As Rowland J. Mainstone points out, the soffits have gold-ground mosaics with rinceaux and geometric borders in red, green, gold, and silver, while the vaults behind the nave colonnades in the central bays are decorated with stars and geometric forms on a darker ground.

Mosaic of the Emperor Alexander

Four figurative mosaic panels have survived in the galleries. The earliest of the gallery mosaics, the last to be uncovered and restored, is high on the east face of the northwest pier. This panel represents the emperor Alexander, who came to the throne in May 912, succeeding his elder brother, Leo VI. "Here comes the man of thirteen months," said Leo with his dying breath, as he saw Alexander, whom he despised, coming to pay his last respects. This cynical prophecy was fulfilled in June of the following year, when Alexander died of apoplexy during a drunken game of polo. The mosaic probably dates from the time of Alexander's brief reign. Alexander's portrait shows him standing full length, bearded and haloed, wearing the gorgeous ceremonial costume of a Byzantine emperor: crowned with a camelaucum, a conical, helmet-shaped coronet of gold with pendant pearls; draped in a loros, a long, gold-embroidered scarf set with jewels; and shod in gem-studded crimson boots. Four medallions flanking the imperial figure bear this legend: "Lord help thy servant, the orthodox and faithful emperor Alexander."

Zoe Mosaic

Two other panels with imperial portraits are at the east end of the south gallery. The earliest of the two panels, which are separated by a widow, is the one to the left, next to the apse. This depicts the famous empress Zoe (r. 1042) and her third husband, Constantine IX Monomachus (r. 1042–55), both of them wearing halos. (Zoe had previously been married in turn to Romanus III [r. 1028–34] and Michael IV [r. 1034–41], and her adopted son Michael V had ruled in the years 1041–2.) At the center of the composition is the enthroned figure of Christ, his right hand raised in a gesture of blessing, his left holding the book of Gospels. On the left stands the emperor holding in his hands the offering of a money bag, and on the right is the empress holding an inscribed scroll. Above the emperor's head an inscription reads, "Constantine, in Christ the Lord Autocrat, Faithful Emperor of the Romans, Monomachus." Above the head of the empress is her identifying

inscription: "Zoe, the most pious Augusta." The scroll in her hand has the same legend as that over the emperor's head, save that the words "Autocrat" and "Monomachus" are omitted for want of space.

The curious thing about this mosaic is that all three heads and the two inscriptions concerning Constantine have been altered, probably at the beginning of his reign. It has been suggested that the mosaic originally showed Zoe with her first husband, Romanus III, and that the faces were destroyed during the fanatically anti-Zoe reign of Michael V. When Zoe regained the throne in 1042 with her third husband, she presumably had the faces restored, substituting that of Constantine for Romanus and altering the inscriptions accordingly. Zoe died in 1050, aged 72. Michael Psellus, in his *Chronographia*, writes of Zoe that to the end, though her hand trembled and her back was bent with age, "her face had a beauty altogether fresh."[17]

The Comnenus Mosaic

The other mosaic shows the Virgin and child between an imperial couple, both of whom have halos (Plate XI). On the left, the bearded emperor is holding forth a moneybag, and on the right, the red-haired empress is offering a scroll. The imperial figures are identified by inscriptions as "John in Christ the Lord faithful Emperor, Porphyrogenitus and Autocrat of the Romans, Comnenus," and "Irene, the most pious Augusta." The mosaic extends on to the narrow panel of side wall at right angles to the main composition, where there is the figure of a young prince with a faint mustache, identified as "Alexius, in Christ, faithful Emperor of the Romans, Porphyrogenitus." These are the portraits of the Emperor John II Comnenus (r. 1118–43); his wife, the empress Eirene, daughter of King Ladislaus of Hungary; and their eldest son, Prince Alexius. The main panel has been dated to 1118, the year of John's accession, and the portrait of Alexius to 1122, when at the age of seventeen he became co-emperor with his father, only to die soon afterward. The emperor was known in his time as Kalo Ioannis, or John the Good, and Niketas Choniates wrote of him that "he was the best of all the emperors, from the Komnenos family, who ever sat upon the Roman throne."[18] The moneybag and scroll that John and Eirene are offering to the Virgin probably represent donations to Hagia Sophia.

The gallery in which these two mosaics are located seems to have been set aside for the emperor and his family. The royal family would have come here from the Great Palace via a wooden staircase that led to the door that can still be seen in the east window of the south gallery.

Deesis Mosaic

The latest in date of the mosaics in the gallery is the magnificent Deesis (Plate XII), or Intercession of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist before Christ, which is on the east wall of the western buttress in the south gallery. Although two-thirds

of the mosaic is now lost, the features of the three figures in the portrait are still intact and almost unmarred. Christ is in the center of the composition, his right hand raised in a gesture of blessing, his left holding the Book of Gospels. The other two figures are turned toward him, with the Virgin on the left and St. John the Baptist on the right, each of them with head bowed in suppliant attitude. This mosaic, one of the greatest works of art that has survived from Byzantium, is dated to the 1260s, a striking illustration of the cultural renaissance that took place during the last two centures of the empire under the Palaeologus dynasty.

Tombstone of Dandolo

Set into the pavement opposite the Deesis, by the west side of the eastern buttress in the south gallery, is a sarcophagus lid inscribed with the name HENRICUS DANDOLO. (The inscription in its present form dates from the nineteenth century.) Dandolo, doge of Venice, was nearly ninety years old and almost blind when he commanded the Venetian fleet in the Latin conquest of Constantinople on 13 April 1204. After ruling as despot of the Venetian share of the dismembered Byzantine Empire for a little over a year, he died on 16 June 1205 and was buried in Hagia Sophia.

Upper Cornice and Superstructure

The upper cornice extends around the periphery of the nave just below the semidomes and principal arches. The approach is via a passageway under the roof of the west gallery that leads to a door at the foot of the great west window. Like the gallery cornice, it extends outward for nearly a meter, and its walkway is protected by a wooden parapet, replaced by a cable where it passes in front of the three mosaic portraits of the Church Fathers. The upper cornice differs from the one at gallery level in that it continues around the semicircular apse rather than extending around only three sides of the nave.

The Dome

The dome is less than a hemisphere, subtending an angle of only about 162°. Its diameter is not constant: it measures about thirty-two meters from east to west and some thirty-three meters north to south. This irregularity is due to deformations in the main piers and arches that occurred during the original construction and were perpetuated in subsequent restorations. The dome has forty ribs that radiate out from the crown, separated at the base by forty windows, of which four toward the west were blocked up during repairs in the tenth century.

The present dome is the result of the three major reconstructions in the Byzantine period. The north and south sectors date from the reconstruction in the sixth century, the west sector dates from the tenth century, and the east sector from the fourteenth century. The latter two sectors cover appreciably

larger angles than the first two. The joints between the sectors are evident as irregularities and discontinuities in the surface of the dome, its cornice, and the pendentives, particularly those at the southeast and northeast corners.

There has been much discussion concerning the form of the original dome – that is, before the reconstruction in 558–63. The chronicler Theophanes writes that the new dome was 20 feet higher than the old one. (Twenty Byzantine feet equal approximately 6.24 meters.) Theophanes would have obtained that information from John Malalas, who in his *Chronographia* writes that the dome was made 20 feet higher.

The height of present dome is 48 Byzantine feet (14.956 meters), measured from the crown to the level of the cornice. This might lead to the supposition that the height of the original dome above the cornice was only 28 Byzantine feet (8.736 meters). This was the theory first published in 1939 by K. J. Conant, based on the careful measurement of Hagia Sophia by Robert L. Van Nice. Conant's theory had the dome rising directly from the cornice, with the 48 windows around its base.

A new theory of the original dome was proposed in 1996 by Rabun Taylor of Harvard. It was elaborated further by Taylor together with Ahmet Çakmak and his colleagues at Princeton, who had developed a comprehensive finite element model of Hagia Sophia. According to this theory (Plate XIII), the dome, 28 feet high, rested on a 20-foot-high cylindrical drum (Byzantine feet in both cases), giving a total height equal to that of the present dome. Here the windows were in the cylindrical drum rather than in the dome itself.

The conclusion drawn by Taylor and Çakmak is that Hagia Sophia will probably survive future earthquakes of the magnitude that it has endured in its long history, a tribute to the architects of Justinian's age who created it and those who rebuilt it after its first structural crisis.

Hagia Sophia is in an active seismic zone, subject to major earthquakes of magnitude 7 and above at intervals of about 150 years. The most recent major earthquake, in 1894, resulted in no structural damage to the building, although it leveled a large part of the city. The earthquake of 17 August 1999, which had a magnitude of 7.4, had its epicenter far enough away from Istanbul that the only severe damage was on the western outskirts of the city along the Marmara shore, and Hagia Sophia, although shaken, was undamaged. Though a future collapse cannot be discounted altogether, there is little to suggest that Hagia Sophia will suffer a cataclysmic failure. The Princeton structural simulation studies indicate that the monument will survive a magnitude 7.5 earthquake similar to the ones that have occurred in the past. Those who are moved by the beauty and grandeur of this masterpiece of light and form should also pay due respect to its nearly miraculous engineering.

The Baptistery

As noted earlier, the baptistery of Hagia Sophia is near the southwest corner of the building, and one passes it on the left when leaving the museum via the Vestibule of the Warriors. This has been identified as the "small baptistery" erected by Justinian at the southwest corner of the church, as distinguished from the

"large baptistery," now vanished, which was on the north side of the church. The original entrance on the west, a doorway now converted into a window, led into a narthex of three cross-vaulted bays, whence one passed into the actual baptismal chamber. The present entrance is at the northeastern angle. The building was converted into a mausoleum in 1623 to house the remains of the mad sultan Mustafa I (r. 1617–18, 1622–23), who had been deposed and executed by the Janissaries. A quarter of a century later the equally mad sultan Ibrahim (r. 1640–48) was interred here after being deposed and executed.

The baptismal chamber is a square externally and an octagonal within. A small apse projects on the west, semicircular inside and rectangular on the exterior. The octagon is covered by a dome, with exedrae in each of the diagonals and arches on the other four sides. The arch on the east frames the apse, and there are arched windows in the sides in two courses above and below. Another doorway on the north side of the baptismal chamber opens into a two-storeyed auxiliary building of unknown function, though it may have been the apodyterium, or dressing room, of the baptistery. The north wall of the lower chamber opens on to an archway that once was filled with an elaborate columnar screen, of which there remains a doorway at its center with molded jambs and hood, flanked by columns superposed in pairs.

The Skeuophylakion

The circular domed structure at the northeastern corner of Hagia Sophia has been identified as the skeuophylakion, or sacristy, which also served as the treasury of the church. The building now has three storeys, of which the upper one appears to be a later addition. The present entrance is through a Turkish doorway cut into a niche in the second storey. Shallow brick-arched niches, eleven in number, stand above one another in each storey. The niche on the west on the lowest storey, larger and shallower than the others, was probably an entrance, as may also have been the bricked-in arch at that level on the south. The building techniques suggest that the two lower storeys may date from the early fifth century and that the top storey may have been added in the sixth century. Thus the lower part of the skeuophylakion may date from the Theodosian church of Hagia Sophia, and the upper part from Justinian's edifice, though only careful archaeological study can settle this question.

Hagia Sophia has been the object of admiration of travelers from antiquity to the present day. One particularly lyrical encomium was written more than a thousand years ago by an envoy of Prince Vladimir of Kiev, who reported thus on his pilgrimage to Hagia Sophia:

> We know not whether we were on heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We only know that God dwells there among men, and their service is fairer than the ceremonies of other nations. For we cannot forget that beauty. [19]

7

Justinian's Other Buildings

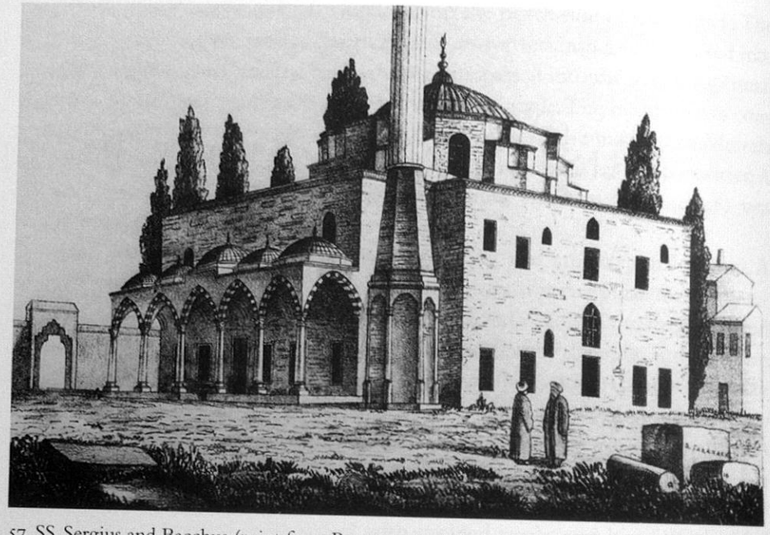
The earliest of Justinian's extant buildings in the city is the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, known in Turkish as Küçük Aya Sofya Camii. Though slightly earlier than Hagia Sophia, for convenience it will be described here.

The Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus (Küçük Aya Sofya Camii)

Justinian erected the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus (Fig. 57) on the Marmara shore of the First Hill, squeezed into an irregular site between the Palace of Hormisdas and his earlier Church of SS. Peter and Paul. Procopius writes that SS. Peter and Paul lay "along the flank" of SS. Sergius and Bacchus and that its narthex was continuous with that of the new church. This led Van Millingen to suggest that SS. Sergius and Bacchus was built to the south of SS. Peter and Paul, but Thomas Mathews, following Ebersolt, presents convincing arguments that the new church was to the north of the older one. According to Mathews, the two churches were contiguous, sharing a wall between them, which survives as the south wall of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, the rest of the Church of SS. Peter and Paul having vanished. This wall is in fact entirely different in construction than the other walls of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, lending support to the theory that it is the north wall of SS. Peter and Paul.

The Palace of Hormisdas would then have been contiguous with SS. Sergius and Bacchus on the north side of the church. According to the *Book of Ceremonies,* on Easter Tuesday the emperor passed through the gallery of the church and descended to the triclinium of the palace. This suggests that the gallery over the narthex of the church communicated directly with a stairway within the palace itself.

According to John of Ephesus, a huge community of monophysite monks was quartered in the Palace of Hormisdas for many years at the behest of Theodora. While they were in residence, a large chamber full of worshippers



57. SS. Sergius and Bacchus (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

collapsed, but, miraculously, no one was injured. Justinian was amazed and "made the hall that fell into a portico."[1]

Thus it would appear that SS. Sergius and Bacchus was built in between the Palace of Hormisdas and the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, both of which disappeared in the medieval period. The puzzling misalignments in the plan of SS. Sergius and Bacchus would seem to be due at least partly to its position between these two earlier buildings, which were not entirely parallel to one another.

Sergius and Bacchus were two Roman soldiers martyred for their espousal of Christianity, and subsequently they became the patron saints of Christians in the Roman army. The dedicatory inscription and imperial monograms in the church record that the Empress Theodora was a co-founder along with her husband.

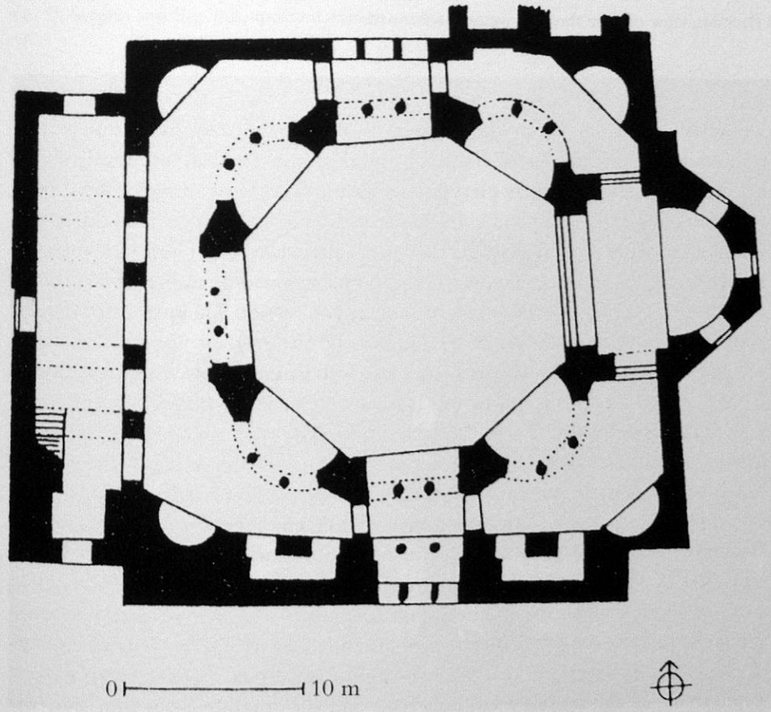
The Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus was begun by Justinian five years before he commissioned the present Hagia Sophia. The church was completed no later than 536. It thus belongs to that extraordinary period of prolific and fruitful experiment in architectural forms that produced, in Constantinople, buildings so ambitious and so different as the present church, Hagia Sophia itself, and Hagia Eirene (to name only the existing monuments) and, in Ravenna, San Vitale, the Baptistery, and Sant'Apollinare in Classe. The domes of this period are especially worthy of note. The great dome of Hagia Sophia is of course unique, but the scallop dome of SS. Sergius and Bacchus is no mere small-scale version of it. It is quite different in design and extraordinary on its own account.

At present there is a single entrance in the center of the façade under the portico, with two windows to the north and one to the south, the second window on that side apparently having been eliminated in a later restoration of the mosque. Originally, in Justinian's building, the present windows in the façade may have been doors, two on either side of the main entryway. These would have

matched the five doorways leading from the narthex into the church, the central portal being the Imperial Gate mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies.*

SS. Sergius and Bacchus is often described as a double-shell church, in that the exterior structure masks the interior plan. The plan (Fig. 58) of the church is an irregular octagon inscribed crookedly in a very irregular rectangle, with a narthex along the west end and an apse at the east, three-sided on the exterior and semicircular within. It is hard to account for all of the irregularities in the plan, but, as noted previously, they may be partly due to the fact that the church had to be squeezed between two already existing buildings: the Palace of Hormisdas and the Church of SS. Peter and Paul.

The method of transition from the octagon to the "pumpkin dome" is innovative: The dome is divided into sixteen sectors, eight of which are flat, pierced by windows above the dome arches, alternating with eight concave sections above the angles of the octagon. This gives the dome the oddly undulatory or corrugated effect that one notices when looking down on it from vantage points on the First Hill (Plate XIV). The octagon has eight polygonal piers between which are paired columns, alternately of verd antique and red Synnada marble both above and below, arranged straight on the axes but curved out into the exedrae at each corner. The column bases are made of Proconnesian marble,



58. Plan of SS. Sergius and Bacchus (after Sanpaolesi)

59. SS. Sergius and Bacchus, view of nave through western colonnade

white with blue-gray veins. The columns on the lower level support the entablature, while the somewhat smaller ones above are joined together by a triad of arches between each pair of adjacent piers. Arches springing from between the piers frame the alternating rectangular and semicircular niches, with the larger arch on the east framing the barrel-vaulted sanctuary and the semicircular apse. The whole forms an arcade that gives an effect almost of choric dancers in some elaborate but formal evolution, as Procopius happily says in another connection. The space between this brightly colored, moving curtain of columns and the exterior walls of the rectangle becomes an ambulatory below and a spacious gallery above, extending around all sides of the church except the east (Figs. 59, 60, 61, 62, & Plate XV).

The capitals and the classic entablature are exquisite specimens of the elaborately carved and deeply undercut style of the sixth century. On the ground floor, the capitals in the arcade are of the "melon" type, and in the gallery, "pseudo-Ionic," a form of cushion capital so called because of its broad head. Van Millingen points out that "a free form of acanthus, deeply overcut on the face towards the central area of the church, covers the capitals, and in the center of that face, on all the capitals except the eighth (counting from the northeast) is carved the monogram of the title Basileus, or of Justinian, or of Theodora."[2] There are two additional columns to the rear of the straight southern side of the octagon; their capitals are of the ordinary cushion type, and on opposite faces they bear the monograms "Justinian" and "Basileus." The two columns above them in the

60. SS. Sergius and Bacchus, apse and eastern exedra



61. SS. Sergius and Bacchus, view toward southwest exedra



59. SS. Sergius and Bacchus, view of nave through western colonnade

white with blue-gray veins. The columns on the lower level support the entablature, while the somewhat smaller ones above are joined together by a triad of arches between each pair of adjacent piers. Arches springing from between the piers frame the alternating rectangular and semicircular niches, with the larger arch on the east framing the barrel-vaulted sanctuary and the semicircular apse. The whole forms an arcade that gives an effect almost of choric dancers in some elaborate but formal evolution, as Procopius happily says in another connection. The space between this brightly colored, moving curtain of columns and the exterior walls of the rectangle becomes an ambulatory below and a spacious gallery above, extending around all sides of the church except the east (Figs. 59, 60, 61, 62, & Plate XV).

The capitals and the classic entablature are exquisite specimens of the elaborately carved and deeply undercut style of the sixth century. On the ground floor, the capitals in the arcade are of the "melon" type, and in the gallery, "pseudo-Ionic," a form of cushion capital so called because of its broad head. Van Millingen points out that "a free form of acanthus, deeply overcut on the face towards the central area of the church, covers the capitals, and in the center of that face, on all the capitals except the eighth (counting from the northeast) is carved the monogram of the title Basileus, or of Justinian, or of Theodora."[2] There are two additional columns to the rear of the straight southern side of the octagon; their capitals are of the ordinary cushion type, and on opposite faces they bear the monograms "Justinian" and "Basileus." The two columns above them in the



60. SS. Sergius and Bacchus, apse and eastern exedra



61. SS. Sergius and Bacchus, view toward southwest exedra



62. SS. Sergius and Bacchus, gallery and dome, looking south

gallery are of inferior quality and not original; the western capital is pseudo-Ionic, with a cross on the northern face, while the eastern capital is of the basket type, with roundels on the four sides. There are two additional columns on the western side of the gallery above the entrance from the narthex. These are of verd antique and are larger in diameter than the other columns on the upper storey of the church. They bear the imprints of sunk crosses.

The epistyle in the gallery is arcaded in a way that became customary in later Byzantine architecture, already in Hagia Sophia, for example. But on the ground floor the entablature is still basically classical, trabeated instead of arched, yet with the traditional architrave, frieze, and cornice. But how different from anything classical, as the carving is like lace.

The frieze consists of a long and beautifully carved inscription in twelve Greek hexameters in honor of Justinian and St. Sergius, though, oddly enough, St. Bacchus is not mentioned. The following is a slightly revised version of Van Millingen's translation of the inscription:

> Other sovereigns, indeed, have honored dead men whose labor was useless. But our sceptered Justinian, fostering piety, honors with a splendid abode the servant of Christ, Creator of all things, Sergius; whom neither the burning breath of fire, nor the sword, nor other constraints of trials disturbed; but who endured for the sake of God Christ to be slain, gaining by his blood heaven as his home. May he in all things guard the rule of the ever-vigilant sovereign, and increase the power of the God-crowned Theodora whose mind is bright with piety, whose toil ever is unsparing efforts to nourish the destitute.[3]

Nothing remains of the original interior decoration of the church. The walls were apparently revetted with veined and variegated marbles, while the vaults and dome glittered with mosaics. According to Procopius, "By the sheen of its marbles it was more resplendent than the sun, and everywhere it was filled profusely with gold."[4]

The foundation also included a large monastery, supported by a generous endowment from Justinian. Because of its proximity to Justinian's palace, this was known as the Monastery of Hormisdas.

Later in Justinian's reign the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus was the scene of a remarkable incident, a virtual struggle between church and state. The dispute concerned the so-called Three Chapters, the writings of three Nestorian theologians that had been condemned by the emperor and his bishops in the Greek church. Pope Vigilius refused to go along with Justinian, who thereupon summoned him to Constantinople, where he arrived on 25 January 544. Despite unrelenting pressure from Justinian, Vigilius declined to condemn the Three Chapters, and as a result he was forced to remain in Constantinople for seven years. Vigilius eventually sought sanctuary in the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, after which Justinian ordered the praetor of the city to arrest and imprison him. When the praetor entered the church, Vigilius grasped the columns of the altar and refused to budge. The praetor's men took hold of the pope's feet and beard and attempted to pull him away from the altar, which collapsed in the struggle. At that point the spectators in the church came to the aid of Vigilius and drove the praetor and his men away. The following day Belisarius led a delegation to the church and persuaded Vigilius that further resistance to Justinian was pointless. Vigilius finally agreed to condemn the Three Chapters, and he was then allowed to leave Constantinople, though he died on the return voyage to Rome.

The association of Vigilius with SS. Sergius and Bacchus probably gave rise to the custom of allowing Latin clergy to use the church, which they did whenever a representative of the papacy visited Constantinople. This is evidenced by a letter sent in 880 by Pope Julius VIII to Basil I, thanking the emperor for

permitting Latin clergy to officiate in the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus once again, according to ancient custom.

The most distinguished personage associated with the Monastery of Hormisdas was John VII, the Grammarian, who was patriarch of Constantinople in the years 838–43. John, who began his career as a young monk at the Monastery of Hormisdas, headed the council that the Emperor Leo V convened in 814–15 to condemn the worship of icons, and for the rest of his career he was one of the leaders of the iconoclastic movement. He was renowned for his intellect and was chosen by Michael III (r. 820–29) to be the tutor of his son and eventual successor, Theophilus. John was also known as Lecanomantis, the Basin-Diviner, because of his power of divination using a polished brass basin as his medium, which led his enemies to denounce him as a sorcerer.

SS. Sergius and Bacchus was one of the favored churches to which the emperor paid an annual visit. According to the *Book of Ceremonies,* the emperor came in procession from the Great Palace to the church, where he received holy communion in a loge set aside for his use in the gallery. After the service the emperor and his party were served refreshments, together with the clergy of the church and the monks in the monastery; they then returned to the palace.

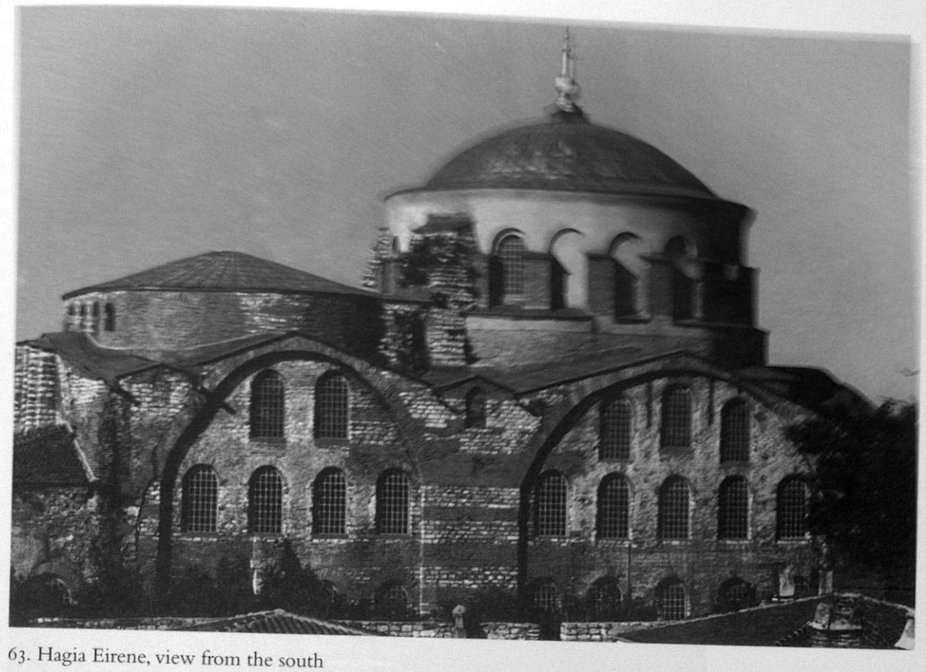
The church survived the fall of Byzantium in 1453. In the early sixteenth century it was converted to a mosque by Hüseyin Ağa, who in the years 1506–12 was chief black eunuch under Beyazit II. It then came to be known as Küçük Aya Sofya Camii, the Mosque of Little Hagia Sophia, because of its supposed resemblance to the Great Church. Hüseyin Ağa's octagonal *türbe,* or mausoleum, can be seen in the walled garden just to the north of the mosque.

Hüseyin Ağa also built the pretty portico of five domes in front of the building, as well as the *medrese,* or college, whose domed cells form the periphery of the cloister in front of the building. He would also have erected the minaret, which stands just outside the southwest corner of the mosque. The present medrese and minaret are the results of recent restorations. The medrese courtyard occupies part of the site of the original atrium, which would have been shared by the churches of SS. Sergius and Bacchus and SS. Peter and Paul. The original courtyard was truncated by the construction of a railway line in the 1880s, the tracks running just to the south of the mosque, which has been damaged by the vibrations generated by the passing trains.

The Church of Hagia Eirene

The former Church of Hagia Eirene (Fig. 63, Plate XVI) is in the first courtyard of Topkapı Sarayı, separated from Hagia Sophia by the outer defense wall of the palace. Its presence within the palace grounds has protected the building, one of the very few Byzantine churches in the city that was not converted into a mosque after the Turkish Conquest.

Ancient architectural members arrayed around the building are from excavations on the First Hill. The ground around the church has risen some five meters above its original level. The present entry is through an Ottoman porch



63. Hagia Eirene, view from the south

and other Turkish structures outside the west end of the north aisle, from where a ramp leads down to the level of the interior.

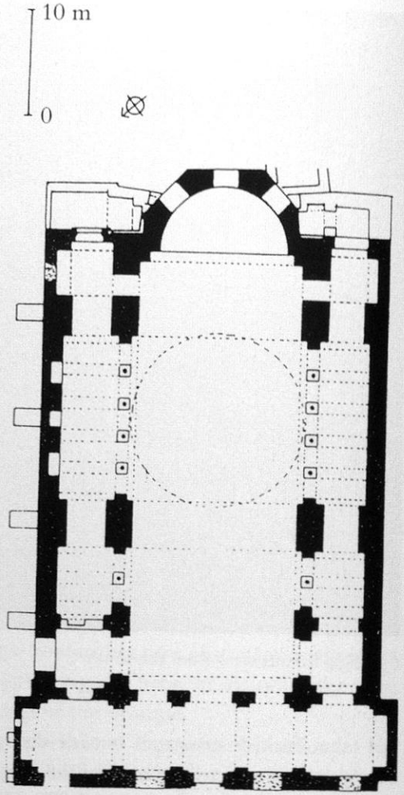
As noted earlier, the original Church of Hagia Eirene dates back to the days of the ancient city of Byzantium. It served as the city's cathedral before the completion of the first Church of Hagia Sophia by Constantius, who probably rebuilt Hagia Eirene, perhaps on a larger scale. It again served as the cathedral in the decade between the destruction of the first Hagia Sophia and the completion of the Theodosian church.

The new Church of Hagia Eirene was probably completed in 537, when Justinian dedicated the new Hagia Sophia. The new Churches of the Divine Wisdom and the Divine Peace were thenceforth closely linked and formed two parts of what was essentially the same religious establishment, administered by the patriarchate and served by the same clergy.

Justinian's Hagia Eirene was a domed basilica ending at the east in an apse with a gallery that extended around the sides of the church and the narthex, preceded on the west by an atrium surrounded on all four sides by a portico.

Hagia Eirene was damaged by fire in December 564, the thirty-seventh year of Justinian's reign. The atrium and part of the narthex were destroyed in the blaze. There is no record of when the damage was repaired, but the restoration does appear to have changed the form of the atrium and narthex to some extent.

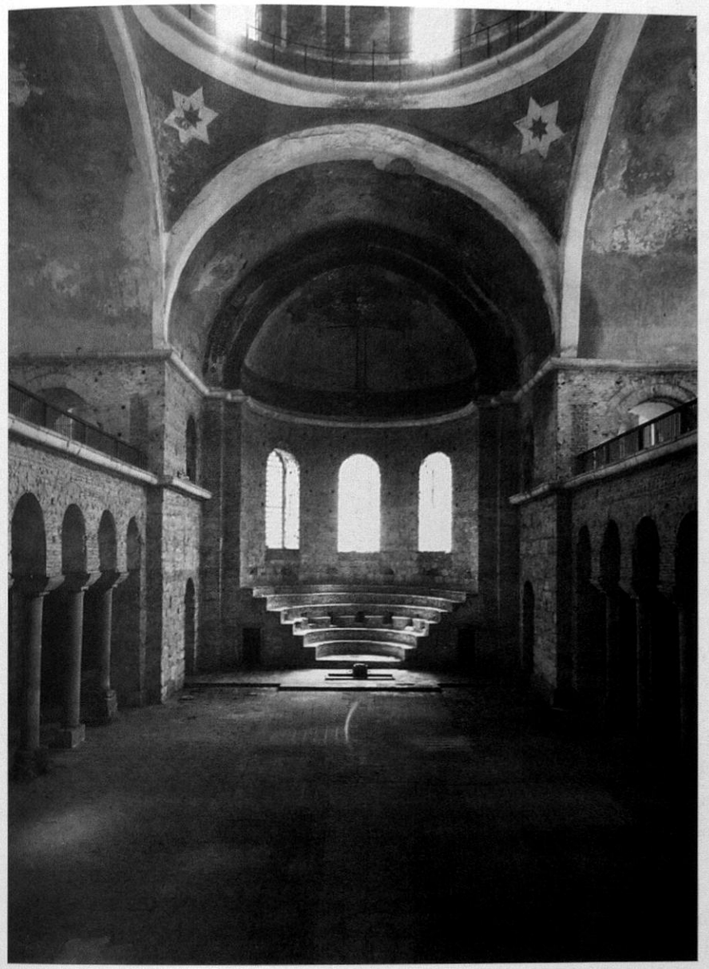
Another catastrophe occurred on 26 October 740, when a particularly violent earthquake caused serious damage and considerable loss of life in the city and



64. Plan of Hagia Eirene (after George)

its environs in Thrace and Bithynia. It appears that the tremor destroyed or badly damaged all of the upper part of Hagia Eirene but left standing the lower part of the walls of the church as well as the narthex and the gallery above it. This occurred about six months before the death of Leo III (r. 717–41), and the church was rebuilt virtually from its foundations during the reign of his son and successor, Constantine V (r. 741–75). Dendrochronology and textual evidence coincide to date the rebuilding to just after 753. As Urs Peschlow's studies have shown, the reconstruction kept the basilican plan at ground level, but it introduced a cross-domed plan on the gallery level, with transverse barrel vaults to the north and south of the dome. The effect of this transformation of Hagia Eirene was to correct the structural problems caused by the lack of lateral bracing for the dome (similar problems also plagued Hagia Sophia).

The church is rectangular in plan (Fig. 64), 42.2 meters long and 36.7 meters wide, with a narthex to the west, preceded by the atrium, and an apse projecting from the east wall, five-sided on the exterior, semicircular within (Fig. 65, Plate XVII). A high drum carries the main dome (Fig. 66) of the church, with peaked



65. Hagia Eirene, nave and apse with synthronon

roofs to its north, east, and south and a low, elliptically shaped domical vault to the west.

The central area of the nave is divided from the side aisles by three pairs of massive piers and the slender columns between them, which support the side galleries. These six piers stand on the corners of two large bays, the eastern one square, its central area measuring 15.3 meters on a side, the western one rectangular, 15.3 meters north to south and 8.3 meters east to west. There are four columns between the piers on either side of the eastern bay and another column between the piers flanking the western bay. The columns have no base molding and stand on imperfectly squared and damaged blocks of stone. These blocks may have been the core of marble pedestals or else they may be reused material.



66. Hagia Eirene, dome with supporting arches and pendentives

The arches that link the columns and their flanking piers are narrow and raised upon unusually high stilts. Their capitals are pseudo-Ionic, with monograms of Justinian and Theodora on the side facing the aisles, the side toward the nave bearing a cross in relief. Semicircular arches spring from the capitals to the walls of the church, providing support for the galleries above. The side aisles were lighted by windows in each of the bays between the piers and columns.

In the western bay, the arches that rise to east and west are semicircular, while those to north and south are roughly elliptical, since they have the same height as the other pair but have a shorter span. These "elliptical" arches extend out to the north and south walls of the church as if they were barrel vaults. The

western bay is covered by a domical vault, so called because the roof has the properties of both dome and vault, since it rises from two pairs of arches with different curvatures (also known as a sail vault).

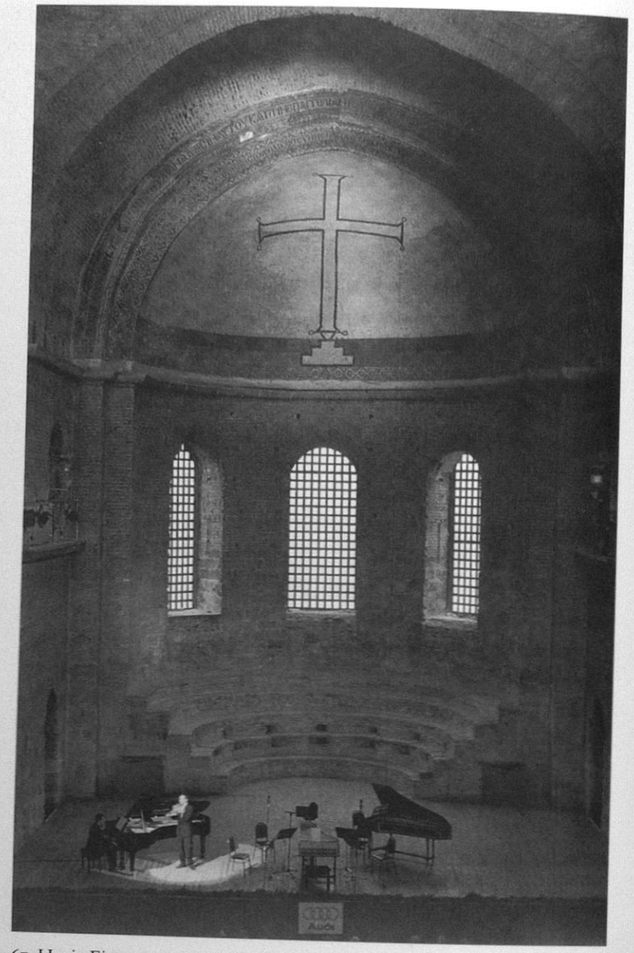
The arches that rise from the piers of the square western bay are all semicircular, with pendentives springing between them to make the transition to the circular cornice of the high drum that carries the great dome, 15.5 meters in diameter. These arches extend to form barrel vaults on all sides, the one to the west common to both the eastern and western bays. The arch on the east extends to the semidome that covers the apse, while those to north and south extend to the walls of the church. The eastern barrel vault is slightly wider than the semidome covering the apse, the transition between them forming two rounded-off corners, so that the bema arch has two faces.

Mosaics cover the entire surface of the apse semidome and the bema arch; they originally extended over the surface of the eastern barrel vault as well. In the semidome there is a large mosaic cross (Fig. 67), in black outline against a gold ground with a geometric border. The cross, with flared ends ending in teardop shapes, stands on a pedestal of three steps placed on a double green band extending around the base of the semidome. The inscription on the inner face of the bema arch is from the Sixty-fourth Psalm, verses 4 and 5, while the one on the outer face is perhaps from Amos, chapter 9, verse 6, with alterations, but in both cases parts of the mosaic have fallen away and the letters were painted in by someone who was indifferent both to grammar and sense. Current opinion is that the mosaics date from the eighth-century rebuilding of the church.

Around the periphery of the apse there is a synthronon, the only one in the city that has survived from the Byzantine era. This has six tiers of seats for the clergy, with doors at either side opening into an ambulatory that runs beneath the fourth tier, lighted by six openings in the middle tier. The apse itself is lighted by three tall semicircular-headed windows, one opening out in each of its external faces.

The nave is flanked by two squarish compartments that are covered with domical vaults and open into the nave between the eastern piers and the bema. These originally communicated with the exterior of the church via doorways at the eastern ends of the aisles.

The galleries (Figs. 68, 69) extend above the north and south aisles and the narthex. They are now approached by a double wooden staircase of Turkish construction. The original approach in Byzantine times appears to have been via an external ramp leading up to the south end of the narthex, as evidenced by excavations to the south of the church. The cross-groined vaults at the north and south bays of the gallery over the narthex are Byzantine, whereas the three bays at the center are Turkish. The gallery over the narthex communicates with those over the side aisles though semicircular-headed openings in the western piers. Each of the galleries over the side aisles has two open sections under the arches on either side of the central piers, which are pierced with semicircular-headed passageways. The tympana under the arches are pierced with three



67. Hagia Eirene, apse with mosaic cross

ranges of semicircular windows. There are also twenty windows of the same form in the drum of the dome, although some of these are now blocked off.

At the western end of the nave, five doors lead into the narthex, a vestibule of five bays, those at the center and the two ends larger than the other two. The central bay and those at either end are groin vaulted, while the two in between are barrel vaulted. Originally, five doors led from the west side of the narthex into the atrium, but three of these have been blocked off.

The atrium consists of a double portico, one inside the other, which greatly reduces the size of the open courtyard. The plan of the atrium has been drastically altered; the whole of the inner peristyle is Turkish, as well as a good many bays of the outer. Most of the outer walls date from the Byzantine era and are



68. Hagia Eirene, northern side of nave, showing colonnade, gallery, and tympanum

curiously irregular; the north portico is noticably longer than the south, so that the west wall of the atrium is not parallel to the narthex.

After the Ottoman Conquest, Hagia Eirene was enclosed within the outer defense walls of Topkapı Sarayı and served as an arsenal for the Janissaries, the elite corps of the army, until they were annihilated in 1826. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the building was used as a storehouse for antiquities, principally old Ottoman armaments. Two imperial porphyry sarcophagi remain in the atrium; these were originally in the mausoleum of the Apostoleion, where they were broken into and looted by the Latins in 1204. Hagia Eirene is now used for exhibitions and concerts. At other times it can only be seen by special permission from the director of the Hagia Sophia Museum.



69. Hagia Eirene, west end of nave, with Turkish staircase leading to galleries

The Hospice of Samson

The ruins immediately to the south of Hagia Eirene have been identified as the remains of the Hospice of Samson. Procopius says the hospice was rebuilt by Justinian, along with Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene, after they were destroyed in the Nika Revolt. The site was excavated in 1946 by Feridun Diremtekin, but unfortunately his studies were not carried out far enough to make clear the plan of the hospice. Before the site became as heavily overgrown as it is today, one could make out a courtyard opposite the atrium of Hagia Eirene, where some columns and capitals (which don't seem to fit) were erected. To the east is a complex series of rooms, including a nymphaeum, or monumental fountain, and a small cistern,

after the Nika Revolt. It is clear that this building connected directly with the atrium of Hagia Eirene, which is only a few feet higher than the courtyard of the hospice.

The Church of the Holy Apostles



69. Hagia Eirene, west end of nave, with Turkish staircase leading to galleries

The Hospice of Samson

The ruins immediately to the south of Hagia Eirene have been identified as the remains of the Hospice of Samson. Procopius says the hospice was rebuilt by Justinian, along with Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene, after they were destroyed in the Nika Revolt. The site was excavated in 1946 by Feridun Diremtekin, but unfortunately his studies were not carried out far enough to make clear the plan of the hospice. Before the site became as heavily overgrown as it is today, one could make out a courtyard opposite the atrium of Hagia Eirene, where some columns and capitals (which don't seem to fit) were erected. To the east is a complex series of rooms, including a nymphaeum, or monumental fountain, and a small cistern,

some of them with *opus sectile* floors. There is a broad corridor between the hospice and Hagia Eirene, and to the east a vaulted ramp that may have given access to the galleries of the church. The masonry and capitals show that the major part of the work is of the time of Justinian, and doubtless belongs to the reconstruction after the Nika Revolt. It is clear that this building connected directly with the atrium of Hagia Eirene, which is only a few feet higher than the courtyard of the hospice.

The Church of the Holy Apostles

The most notable of the Justinianic churches that have disappeared is the Apostoleion. Procopius writes in his *Edifices* of how Justinian demolished the earlier Church of the Holy Apostles and rebuilt it more splendidly and on a grander scale:

> There was in Byzantium from ancient times a church dedicated to all the Apostles; but having by now been shaken by the passage of time; it had fallen under the suspicion that it could not continue to stand. This the Emperor Justinian pulled down entirely, and he was at pains not simply to restore it, but to make it more worthy both in size and beauty.[5]

According to the sources, the foundation stone for the new Apostoleion was laid by Theodora *c.* 534, and the complex was dedicated by Justinian on 28 June 540.

The original Apostoleion comprised the imperial mausoleum erected by Constantine and the cruciform basilica built by his son and successor, Constantius. In the new Apostoleion, Justinian preserved the form of the mausoleum, a domed rotunda, but he entirely rebuilt the church itself, apparently as a cruciform basilica. Procopius describes Justinian's new church in the first book of the *Edifices:*

> Two straight lines were drawn, intersecting each other in the middle of the form of a cross, one extending east and west, and the other which crossed this running north and south. On the outside these lines were defined by walls on all of the sides, while on the inside they were traced by rows of columns standing above one another. At the crossing of the two straight lines, that is to say at about the middle, there was set aside a place which may not be entered by those who may not celebrate the mysteries; this with good reason they call the "sanctuary." The two arms of this enclosure which lie along the transverse line are equal to each other, but the arm which extends toward the west, along the upright line, is enough longer than the other to make the form of the cross. That portion of the roof which is above the sanctuary, as it is called, is built, in the center at least, on a plan resembling the Church of Sophia, except that it is inferior to it in size. The arches, four in number, rise aloft and are bound together in the same manner and the circular drum which stands upon them is pierced by windows, and the dome which arches above this seems to float in the air and not to rest upon solid masonry, though actually it

> is well supported. Thus, then, was the central part of the roof constructed. And the arms of the building, which are four, . . . were roofed on the same plan as the central portion, but this one feature is lacking: underneath the domes the masonry is not pierced by windows.[6]

The description by Procopius of Justinian's Apostoleion is generally taken to mean that it was cruciform in plan, with hemispherical domes carried on drums over the crossing and above each of the four arms. A similar plan was used for Justinian's church of St. John at Ephesus, now partially restored. That church differs from the Apostoleion only in that the west arm is longer and covered by two domes rather then one. The plan of the Apostoleion was followed on the whole in the Basilica of San Marco in Venice, completed in 1063. The mausoleum of Justinian's Apostoleion, a domed rotunda, seems to have been a freestanding structure that stood east of the church along its main axis and in the center of an open courtyard surrounded on all four sides by colonnades.

The mausoleum of the Apostoleion continued to be the burial place of almost all of the emperors for the next five centuries, the last to be buried there being Constantine VIII, who died in 1028. The Apostoleion was sacked in 1204 by the Crusaders, who broke open and looted the sarcophagi of the emperors in the mausoleum. Some of the oldest of these sarcophagi, those in porphyry, have survived. Two of them are preserved in the atrium of Hagia Eirene, another four are outside the Archaeological Museum, and a sculptured fragment of a fifth is in the museum's Istanbul through the Ages pavilion (this fragment is believed to be from the sarcophagus of Constantine the Great).

After the Turkish Conquest, the Apostoleion served for a short time as the seat of the Greek Orthodox patriarch, the first to hold that office in the Ottoman period being Gennadius. But Gennadius soon moved the patriarchate to the church of the Virgin Pammakaristos on the Fifth Hill, for the Apostoleion was dilapidated and situated in a quarter then inhabited principally by Muslims. Then in 1461 Mehmet II demolished the Apostoleion and built on its site the imperial mosque known as Fatih Camii.

The Basilica Cistern

The Nika Revolt also destroyed the Stoa Basilica, the porticoed square just to the northwest of the Augoustaion. The square has disappeared, but the vast subterranean reservoir beneath it, the Basilica Cistern (Fig. 70, Plate XVIII), has survived, and it is now open to the public (it was renovated in the 1980s). The entrance to the cistern, known in Turkish as Yerebatansaray, the Underground Palace, is a short distance down Yerbatansaray Caddesi, the street that leads off to the northwest from the square beside Haghia Sophia.

The cistern takes its name from the fact that it was built under the Stoa Basilica, or Imperial Portico, which was badly damaged in the Nika Revolt and



70. The Basilica Cistern

subsequently repaired by Justinian. Procopius describes how Justinian came to build this cistern:

> In the summer months the imperial city used to suffer from scarcity of water as a general thing, though at the other seasons it enjoyed a sufficiency. . . . Wherefore the Emperor devised the following plan. At the Imperial Portico, where the lawyers and prosecutors prepare their cases, as well as all others who are concerned with such matters, there is a certain very large courtyard, very long, and broad in proportion, surrounded by columns on the four sides, not set upon a foundation of earth by those who constructed it, but built upon living rock. Four colonnaded stoas surround the court, standing one on each side. Excavating to a great depth this court and one of the stoas (that which faces toward the south), the Emperor Justinian made a suitable storage reservoir for the summer season, to contain the water which had been wasted by its very abundance during the other seasons.[7]

Throughout the Byzantine period, the Basilica Cistern would have been used to store water for the Great Palace and the other buildings on the First Hill. Nevertheless, general knowledge of the cistern's existence seems to have been lost in the century after the conquest, and it remained lost until rediscovered in the mid-sixteenth century by Pierre Gilles. Gilles writes of how he was led to his

discovery of the cistern by his search for the famous library that stood in the Stoa Basilica, which he calls the Imperial Portico:

> It is my opinion that the place where the Library stood had a quadrangular shape and seems to be the same building that Procopius says was surrounded by pillars erected in a square manner. Zonaras mentions nothing of the form of the Basilica that contained the Library but only says that it adjoined the Chalkoprateia, or Brazier's Shops. Cedrinus calls it the Basilica *Cisterna,* which some writers erroneously tell us was built by Constantine the Great. I am confirmed in this opinion by Procopius, who says that near the Imperial Portico where the lawyers used to plead there was a spacious building of great length and breadth surrounded by pillars on a quadrangular plan, situated on rocky ground, which was built by Justinian to a great height for preserving the water that was brought into it by subterranean pipes in summer and in the winter from the aqueducts for the use of the poor.[8]

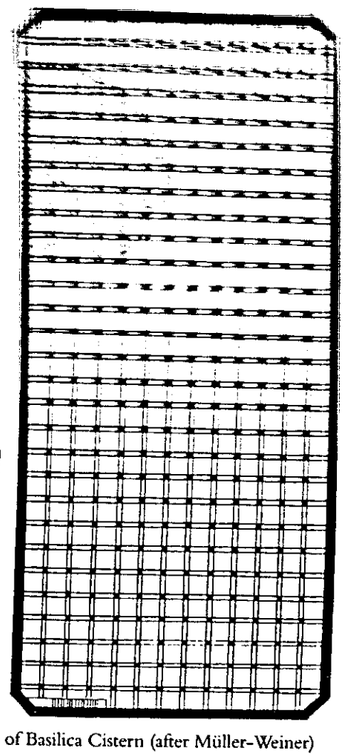
Gilles then digresses to quote two Byzantine sources concerning the Stoa Basilica, which led him to conclude that "from these passages it is observable that the Imperial Portico and the Imperial Cistern stood in the same place." He then resumes his story of how he discovered the cistern:

> The Imperial Portico is not to be seen, though the Cistern remains. Through the inhabitants' carelessness and contempt for everything that is curious it was never discovered except by me, who was a stranger among them, after a long and diligent search for it. The whole area was built over, which made it less suspected that there was a cistern there. The people had not the least suspicion of it, though they daily drew their water out of the wells that were sunk into it. By chance I went into a house where there was a way down to it and went aboard a little skiff. I discovered it after the master of the house lit some torches and rowed me here and there across through the pillars, which lay very deep in water. He was very intent on catching his fish, with which the Cistern abounds, and speared some of them by the light of the torches. There is also a small light that descends from the mouth of the well and reflects on the water, where the fish usually come for air.[9]

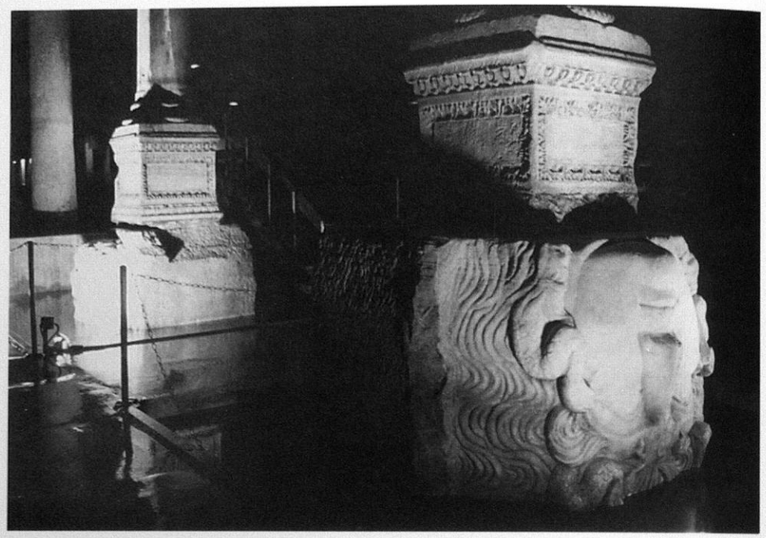
Gilles goes on to describe the cistern, which was still supplied with water in his time:

> The Cistern is three hundred and thirty-six feet long, a hundred and eighty-two feet broad, and two hundred and twenty-four Roman paces in circumference. The roof, arches, and sides are all brickwork covered with terracotta, which is not the least impaired by time. The roof is supported by three hundred and thirty-six marble pillars. The space of the intercolumniation is twelve feet. Each pillar is over forty feet, nine inches high. They stand lengthwise in twelve ranges, broadways in twenty-eight. Their capitals are partly finished in the Corinthian style, and part of them are unfinished. Over the abacus of every pillar is placed a large stone, which seems to be another abacus that supports four arches.
>
> There is an abundance of wells that empty into the Cistern. When it was filling in the winter time I saw a large stream of water falling from a great pipe with a mighty noise until the pillars were covered up with water up to the middle of the capitals. This Cistern stands West of the Church of St. Sophia a distance of eighty Roman paces.[9]

The Basilica Cistern is a magnificent structure, far and away the largest of the many ancient underground reservoirs in the city, with three times the area of Binbirdirek, the second biggest. It is 138 meters long, the longest axis in the direction of the street above, and 64 meters wide (fig. 71). Its 336 columns are arranged in twelve rows of 28 each, though 52 of them in the southwest corner of the cistern were walled off in the sixteenth century. They



71. Plan of Basilica Cistern (after Müller-Weiner)



72. Basilica Cistern, inverted Gorgon head supporting column base

stand to a height of about eight meters, with their centers some four meters apart. The columns are topped by Byzantine Corinthian capitals; these have imposts above them that support domical groin vaults.

Walkways now lead through the cistern from the landing at the foot of the stairs. About halfway along on the left one sees a very distinctive column decorated with a design of teardrops or a lopped cypress tree. The same design can be seen on the columns in the ruins of the triumphal archway in the Forum of Theodosius. There is yet another column of this type standing outside the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

The far-left corner of the cistern is designed somewhat differently than the rest of the structure, and there the walkway takes one down a few steps to what may have been a nymphaeum. Two of the columns there are mounted on ancient classical bases supported by the colossal heads of Gorgons (Fig. 72) one of them upside down and the other on its side. (The Gorgons in Greek mythology were three monstrous sisters, one of whom, Medusa, was slain by Perseus.) These are identical to two Gorgon heads in the café garden of the Archaeological Musum; these latter were found in the mid-nineteenth century near Constantine's Column. A likely scenario is that the four heads came from a Gorgon frieze on a Greek temple in Asia Minor and were brought to Constantinople by Constantine to adorn a building in his forum. The two in the cistern were then put in place there by Justinian as part of his building program after the Nika Revolt.

The Augoustaion and the Column of Justinian

Gilles also explored the site of the Augoustaion, the great square south of Hagia Sophia, in which stood the colossal column of Justinian mentioned earlier:

> Procopius writes that the Forum that was formerly called the Augoustaion was surrounded by pillars and was situated before the Imperial Palace. Not only is the forum quite displaced at present, but its very name is lost, and the whole ground where it stood is built upon. The palace is entirely in ruins, yet I gather from the pedestal of a Pillar of Justinian recently standing but now removed by the Turks – which Procopius says was bult by Justinian in the Augoustaion and Zonaras in the court before the Church of Sophia – that the Augoustaion stood where a fountain is now at the west end of the Church of St. Sophia.[11]

The Great Palace

Justinian's restorations also included those parts of the Great Palace that had been destroyed during the Nika Revolt. Remnants of the Great Palace have been unearthed on the Marmara shore of the First Hill, and the mosaic pavement of one of its pavilions is exhibited *in situ* in the Mosaic Museum below the Mosque of Sultan Ahmet I. The only part of the Great Palace that remains standing is the Palace of Boukoleon, whose ruined shell is part of the Byzantine sea walls on the Marmara shore below the First Hill, the imperial monogram of Justinian still legible on the capital of its single surviving column.

Part of the Great Palace had been destroyed or damaged in the Nika Revolt, and the restoration of these structures and the erection of new ones was a major part of Justinian's reconstruction program. Topographical studies of the Great Palace were begun in the second half of the nineteenth century, based almost entirely on literary sources. The first archeological excavations, most of them limited in scope, were done in the early years of the Turkish Republic.

Excavations by archaeologists from the University of St. Andrews in the years 1935–8 and 1951–4 found extensive mosaic pavements of a peristyle court of the Great Palace in a ruined Turkish bazaar street below the Mosque of Ahmet I, which stands on the east side of the Hippodrome. The only Byzantine pavements uncovered in this project were opened to the public in the Mosaic Museum, while the Turkish bazaar street was restored as an arcade of shops catering to tourists. The mosaics in the museum were studied and restored in the years 1983–7 by the Austrian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with Turkish scholars.

The peristyle court measured 66.50 meters in length and 35.50 in width, with twelve Corinthian columns on the long sides and ten on the others, counting corner columns twice; the columns themselves had a base diameter of 1.90 meters and a height of 8.50 to 9.00 meters. The peristyle and its mosaic decoration is believed to be part of Justinian's rebuilding work after the Nika Revolt.

The more notable scenes include those depicting a tiger hunt, a bear devouring a young stag, a bear chasing a young man, a fight between an elephant and a lion, an eagle biting a snake, a boy feeding his donkey, a monkey trying to dislodge a bird from a tree, the mythical hero Bellerophon fighting the Chimaera, the head of a young man with an acanthus beard (Plate XIX) the head of a mustachioed youth embowered in foliage (this and the previous mosaic perhaps



72. Basilica Cistern, inverted Gorgon head supporting column base

stand to a height of about eight meters, with their centers some four meters apart. The columns are topped by Byzantine Corinthian capitals; these have imposts above them that support domical groin vaults.

Walkways now lead through the cistern from the landing at the foot of the stairs. About halfway along on the left one sees a very distinctive column decorated with a design of teardrops or a lopped cypress tree. The same design can be seen on the columns in the ruins of the triumphal archway in the Forum of Theodosius. There is yet another column of this type standing outside the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

The far-left corner of the cistern is designed somewhat differently than the rest of the structure, and there the walkway takes one down a few steps to what may have been a nymphaeum. Two of the columns there are mounted on ancient classical bases supported by the colossal heads of Gorgons (Fig. 72) one of them upside down and the other on its side. (The Gorgons in Greek mythology were three monstrous sisters, one of whom, Medusa, was slain by Perseus.) These are identical to two Gorgon heads in the café garden of the Archaeological Musum; these latter were found in the mid-nineteenth century near Constantine's Column. A likely scenario is that the four heads came from a Gorgon frieze on a Greek temple in Asia Minor and were brought to Constantinople by Constantine to adorn a building in his forum. The two in the cistern were then put in place there by Justinian as part of his building program after the Nika Revolt.

The Augoustaion and the Column of Justinian

Gilles also explored the site of the Augoustaion, the great square south of Hagia Sophia, in which stood the colossal column of Justinian mentioned earlier:

> Procopius writes that the Forum that was formerly called the Augoustaion was surrounded by pillars and was situated before the Imperial Palace. Not only is the forum quite displaced at present, but its very name is lost, and the whole ground where it stood is built upon. The palace is entirely in ruins, yet I gather from the pedestal of a Pillar of Justinian recently standing but now removed by the Turks – which Procopius says was bult by Justinian in the Augoustaion and Zonaras in the court before the Church of Sophia – that the Augoustaion stood where a fountain is now at the west end of the Church of St. Sophia.[11]

The Great Palace

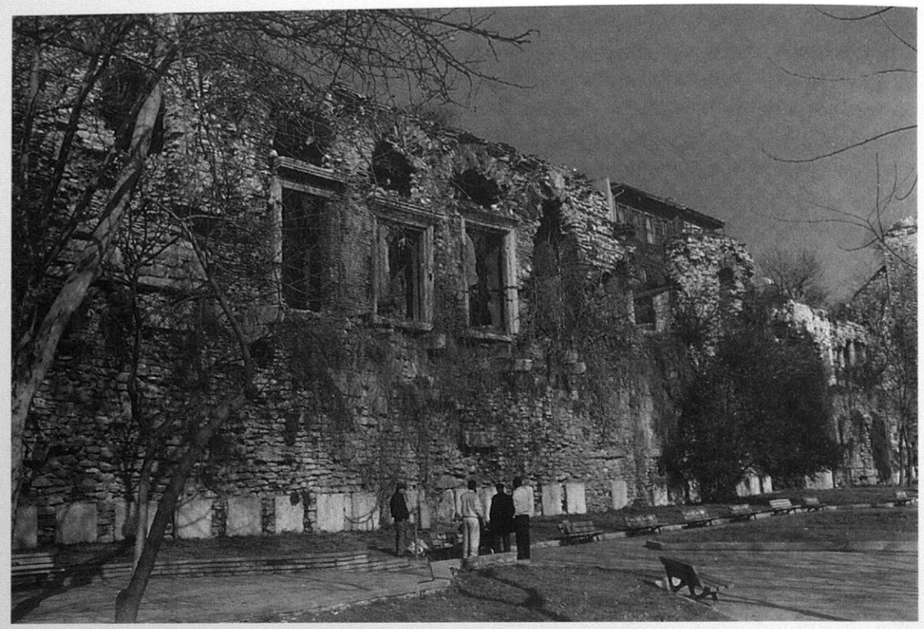
Justinian's restorations also included those parts of the Great Palace that had been destroyed during the Nika Revolt. Remnants of the Great Palace have been unearthed on the Marmara shore of the First Hill, and the mosaic pavement of one of its pavilions is exhibited *in situ* in the Mosaic Museum below the Mosque of Sultan Ahmet I. The only part of the Great Palace that remains standing is the Palace of Boukoleon, whose ruined shell is part of the Byzantine sea walls on the Marmara shore below the First Hill, the imperial monogram of Justinian still legible on the capital of its single surviving column.

Part of the Great Palace had been destroyed or damaged in the Nika Revolt, and the restoration of these structures and the erection of new ones was a major part of Justinian's reconstruction program. Topographical studies of the Great Palace were begun in the second half of the nineteenth century, based almost entirely on literary sources. The first archaeological excavations, most of them limited in scope, were done in the early years of the Turkish Republic.

Excavations by archaeologists from the University of St. Andrews in the years 1935–8 and 1951–4 found extensive mosaic pavements of a peristyle court of the Great Palace in a ruined Turkish bazaar street below the Mosque of Ahmet I, which stands on the east side of the Hippodrome. The early Byzantine pavements uncovered in this project were opened to the public as the Mosaic Museum, while the Turkish bazaar street was restored as an arcade of shops catering to tourists. The mosaics in the museum were studied and restored in the years 1983–7 by the Austrian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with Turkish scholars.

The peristyle court measured 66.50 meters in length and 55.50 in width, with twelve Corinthian columns on the long sides and ten on the others, counting corner columns twice; the columns themselves had a base diameter of 0.90 meters and a height of 8.50 to 9.00 meters. The peristyle and its mosaic decoration is believed to be part of Justinian's rebuilding work after the Nika Revolt.

The more notable scenes include those depicting a tiger hunt, a bear devouring a young stag, a bear chasing a young man, a fight between an elephant and a lion, an eagle biting a snake, a boy feeding his donkey, a monkey trying to dislodge a bird from a tree, the mythical hero Bellerophon fighting the Chimaera, the head of a young man with an acanthus beard (Plate XIX) the head of a mustachioed youth embowered in foliage (this and the previous mosaic perhaps



73. The Boukoleon Palace

representing Dionysius), and a mock chariot race between four youths in the Hippodrome.

A new program of excavations of the Great Palace by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum began in 1998 under the direction of Alpay Pasinlı, director of museums. The area under excavation stretches from the east side of Babıhümayun Caddesi, the street bordering Hagia Sophia to the east, down into the garden of the Four Seasons Hotel.

The only remains of the Great Palace that can still be seen above ground are a short distance to the east of SS. Sergius and Bacchus along the Marmara shore. Walking along the sea walls in this direction, one first comes to an ancient portal known as Çatladı Kapı, or the Cracked Gate. (Originally the sea came up nearly to these walls, leaving only a narrow sand beach, but in 1959 the shallows were filled in to construct the shore highway.) The marble gate has acanthus-leaf carvings as well as a monogram of Justinian. (The monogram has recently been badly damaged by a vandal.) According to Mango, who dates the gate to the tenth century, the monogram and other sculptural decoration are spolia. This postern is probably the one that was called the Imperial Marine Gate, since it appears to have been the principal entrance to the Great Palace from the Sea of Marmara. The small port here, reserved for the emperor, was called the Harbor of the Boukoleon, from a statue group consisting of a lion attacking a bull, which stood down on the shore. This group also gave its name to the Palace of the Boukoleon, a seaside pavilion of the Great Palace.

The approach to the palace from the sea was apparently by a monumental staircase in the huge tower just beyond Çatladı Kapı. Walking beyond this tower, one sees all that now remains of the Palace of the Boukoleon (Fig. 73): the eastern loggia of its seaside façade, with its three marble-framed windows and a huge vaulted room behind them. Below the windows some projecting corbels indicate that a balcony extended along the façade, suspended over the marble quay below. An opening higher and to the right on the façade was once framed by two columns, one of which has disappeared. The curious-looking row of large square marble slabs are worthy of notice; they are Doric capitals of the classical period, doubtless from some ancient temple that stood nearby.

The Palace of the Boukoleon was the principal residence of the Latin kings who ruled Byzantium in the years 1204–61. After the Greeks recaptured Constantinople in 1261, Michael VIII Palaeologus found that Boukoleon and the other pavilions of the Great Palace were unfit for habitation, and so he took up residence in the Palace of Blachernai in the Fourteenth Region, inside the city walls above the Golden Horn. Thenceforth the Great Palace by the Marmara was abandoned and fell into ruins, including Boukoleon, which is now the only substantial part of the once fabled imperial palace that can still be seen above ground.

8

THE MEDIEVAL CITY

Within a few years of Justinian's death in 565 the Byzantine frontiers were breached on all sides by invaders, who came close to destroying the empire by the beginning of the seventh century. The empire, was saved, however, by the heroic efforts of the Emperor Heraclius (r. 610–41). Nonetheless, throughout the next two and a half centuries it endured a desperate struggle for survival. During that period the dynasty of Justin and Justinian came to an end and was succeeded in turn by three other imperial lines, that of Heraclius (610–711), the Syrian dynasty (717–802), and the Amorian dynasty (820–67). These were truly the Dark Ages, for the population of the empire was greatly reduced by the plague, famine, war, and internal strife, including the religious controversy known as the Iconoclastic Crisis. The severely reduced resources of the empire are evident in the almost total lack of building in medieval Constantinople. Not a single extant church dates from that period, except the rebuilt Hagia Eirene.

Justinian was succeeded by his nephew Justin II (r. 565–78), whose wife, Sophia, was Theodora's niece. During Justin's reign, the empire was invaded on the east by the Persians and on the north by the Avars, a Central Asian people who had moved into the Caucasus and then pushed on into the Balkans. The onslaught of the invaders caused the unstable Justin to have a serious mental breakdown in 573 from which he never recovered. His friend Tiberius took effective charge of the government in collaboration with Sophia, while Justin himself was confined to the palace for the last five years of his life.

THE HARBOR OF SOPHIA

Before his breakdown, Justin, working together with Sophia, carried out a number of building projects, including repairs to the Theodosian Walls and the dredging of the harbor that Julian had created on the Marmara shore of the First Hill. The harbor thenceforth officially bore the name of Sophia, who was commemorated there by a statue. It was a large port with two basins and was protected by a semicircular mole. It was used for the import of grain from Egypt, which was

stored around the harbor in large warehouses. The harbor was also used by the military and had a large shipyard. In Ottoman times it came to be known as Kadirga Limanı, or the Galley Port, as Gilles notes in his description of the harbor, which by his time had silted up almost completely:

> [The Port of Sophia] is now filled up. It was the port that stands west of the Church of Bacchus [SS. Sergius and Bacchus], it is now completely demolished and enclosed by a wall. There is only a small part of it remaining. This is a pool of water where the women wash their linen. The people tell you that they have seen some three-decked galleys that have been sunk there. It is now called Caterga Limena or the Port of the Three-Decked Galleys by the present inhabitants.[1]

After Justin's death in 578, he was succeeded by Tiberius I. Tiberius ruled until his death in 582 and was succeeded by Maurice, a Cappadocian who had commanded the imperial army. During the next two decades, Maurice kept both the Persians and Avars at bay. Meanwhile he established the exarchates of Ravenna and Carthage, so that by the beginning of the seventh century the future of the empire seemed secure.

Early in the autumn of 602, the imperial army on the Danube revolted under a centurion named Phocas, who usurped the throne and beheaded Maurice and his five sons. (Phocas is commemorated by a column in the Roman Forum.) During the next six years the Persians under King Chosroes II overran Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, then invaded Asia Minor and penetrated all the way to Chalcedon, leaving death and total destruction in their path. By that time, Constantinople was being torn apart by a series of riots and insurrections, all put down savagely by Phocas. Meanwhile the Avars were set to invade the imperial dominions in the Balkans, and everyone in the capital now believed that the empire was doomed.

When all seemed lost, the empire was saved by Heraclius, the exarch of Carthage, who sent a fleet to Constantinople under the command of his son, also named Heraclius. The fleet reached Constantinople on 3 October 610, whereupon a revolt broke out in the city and overthrew Phocas. Phocas was brought before Heraclius the Younger and then beheaded, after which his remains were publicly burned in the Forum Bovis. Later that same day Heraclius was crowned as emperor.

Heraclius (Fig. 74) spent his long reign (r. 610–41) in almost continuous battle against the Persians and the Avars, who at first continued their advances despite his efforts. A Persian army swept across Asia Minor in 615, once again advancing as far as Chalcedon. The Avars raided the European suburbs of the city in June 617, but the great Theodosian Walls were too much for them, and they turned back, carrying away almost a quarter of a million captives from Thrace.

The situation now seemed hopeless, and Heraclius considered the possibility of leaving Constantinople to establish his capital in Carthage. This caused panic among the people of Constantinople, and they forced the patriarch Sergius to have Heraclius swear that he would not abandon their city to the barbarians.

(1) Eudocia = Justinian II = (2) Theodoar

Tiberius

74. The dynasty of Heraclius, 610–711 (from Ostrogorsky)

Heraclius then led his army in two successful campaigns against the Persians. Before the beginning of the second campaign, the threat of an Avar invasion in Thrace had led Heraclius to sent back part of his army to defend Constantinople. Then in 626 the Avar khagan invaded Thrace with a huge horde that included Bulgars, Slavs, Huns, Scythians, and Gepids. At the same time an enormous Persian army swept across Asia Minor and encamped in Chalcedon, waiting to coordinate their attack with the Avars. At one point in midsummer the Avars almost broke through the Theodosian Walls at their weakest point, where the fortifications slope down to the Golden Horn at Blachernai, but the Virgin Blachernitissa suddenly appeared and dispersed the barbarians, or so said the Byzantine defenders. Then in mid-August news arrived of a great Byzantine victory in Mesopotamia, and at that both the Persians and Avars broke off their siege and retreated from the capital. Thus the "god-guarded" city of Constantinople was saved, and the populace gave thanks to the Virgin at her shrine at Blachernai, singing a hymn composed by the Patriarch Sergius – the "Akathistos" – which is still part of the liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church and is performed each year on the feast day of the Blachernitissa.

The Wall of Heraclius

Soon afterwards Heraclius ordered new fortifications to be built at the northern end of the land walls by the Golden Horn. These fortifications, known as the Wall of Heraclius (Fig. 75) were meant to protect the shrine at Blachernai, where the Avars had almost broken into the city.

The northernmost stretch of the original Theodosian Walls leading down to the Golden Horn has disappeared, replaced by later fortifications, the earliest of



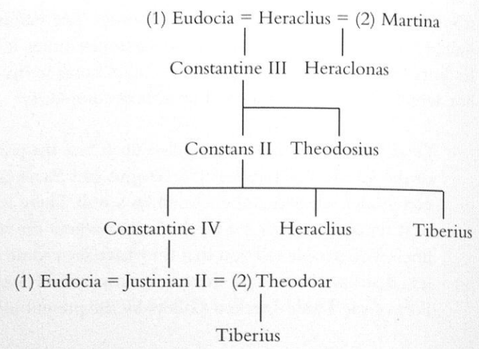
75. The Wall of Heraclius

the outside of which project three hexagonal defense towers, among the strongest in the whole circuit of the land walls. Between the first and second towers from the south there was a portal known as the Gate of Blachernai.

The Martyrium of St. Euphemia

Another monument that may date from the reign of Heraclius is the Martyrium of St. Euphemia, which was located in the rebuilt triclinium hall of the Palace of Antiochus. (It is possible that this hall had already been converted into a church in the sixth century, but opinion is divided about this.) This part of the excavation site is in a restricted area and is not open to the public.

St. Euphemia had been martyred in Byzantium *c.* 303 and became the patron saint of Chalcedon, where her remains had been enshrined in a church dedicated to her. We learn from the Anonymous Englishman, writing in 1190, that St. Euphemia performed an astonishing miracle during the Ecumenical Council



74. The dynasty of Heraclius, 610–711 (from Ostrogorsky)

Heraclius then led his army in two successful campaigns against the Persians. Before the beginning of the second campaign, the threat of an Avar invasion in Thrace had led Heraclius to sent back part of his army to defend Constantinople. Then in 626 the Avar khagan invaded Thrace with a huge horde that included Bulgars, Slavs, Huns, Scythians, and Gepids. At the same time an enormous Persian army swept across Asia Minor and encamped in Chalcedon, waiting to coordinate their attack with the Avars. At one point in midsummer the Avars almost broke through the Theodosian Walls at their weakest point, where the fortifications slope down to the Golden Horn at Blachernai, but the Virgin Blachernitissa suddenly appeared and dispersed the barbarians, or so said the Byzantine defenders. Then in mid-August news arrived of a great Byzantine victory in Mesopotamia, and at that both the Persians and Avars broke off their siege and retreated from the capital. Thus the "god-guarded" city of Constantinople was saved, and the populace gave thanks to the Virgin at her shrine at Blachernai, singing a hymn composed by the Patriarch Sergius – the "Akathistos" – which is still part of the liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church and is performed each year on the feast day of the Blachernitissa.

The Wall of Heraclius

Soon afterwards Heraclius ordered new fortifications to be built at the northern end of the land walls by the Golden Horn. These fortifications, known as the Wall of Heraclius (Fig. 75) were meant to protect the shrine at Blachernai, where the Avars had almost broken into the city.

The northernmost stretch of the original Theodosian Walls leading down to the Golden Horn has disappeared, replaced by later fortifications, the earliest of which is the Wall of Heraclius. The fortification built by Heraclius forms the northernmost stretch of these later walls, which join up with the sea walls along the Golden Horn. It consists of a curtain wall about a hundred meters long, from



75. The Wall of Heraclius

the outside of which project three hexagonal defense towers, among the strongest in the whole circuit of the land walls. Between the first and second towers from the south there was a portal known as the Gate of Blachernai.

The Martyrium of St. Euphemia

Another monument that may date from the reign of Heraclius is the Martyrium of St. Euphemia, which was located in the rebuilt triclinium hall of the Palace of Antiochus. (It is possible that this hall had already been converted into a church in the sixth century, but opinion is divided about this.) This part of the excavation site is in a restricted area and is not open to the public.

St. Euphemia had been martyred in Byzantium *c.* 303 and became the patron saint of Chalcedon, where her remains had been enshrined in a church dedicated to her. We learn from the Anonymous Englishman, writing in 1190, that St. Euphemia performed an astonishing miracle during the Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon in 451. According to his account, the two opposing parties in the council, the Orthodox and the Monophysites, decided to resolve their dispute about the nature of Christ by placing their formulas in the saint's casket and let-

ting her decide. A week later they opened the casket and found the Orthodox formula held in Euphemia's hands above her heart and that of the Monophysites lying under her feet. This brought victory to the Orthodox party, and the council concluded by rejecting the Monophysite doctrine, or so the story goes.

Euphemia's remains were transferred from Chalcedon to Constantinople, probably at the time of the Persian invasion of 615. The church of her martyrium was laid out askew in the triclinium hall of the Palace of Antiochus, with the eastern semicircular recess as its apse. A new entrance was then made in the western apse opposite the one that was now the apse of the church. Around the periphery of the eastern apse there was a synthronon with eight semicircular tiers of seats for the clergy. The rectangular area in front of the chancel screen was defined by six colonettes along the front and three on the sides, counting corner columns twice, the space between them enclosed with parapet slabs. The site of the altar is identified by the sockets for the ciborium that covered it in front of the apse, a massive shallow dome supported by four columns standing in the corners of a square measuring 1.8 meters on a side. Other structures uncovered in the excavations include four large circular chambers abutting the smaller circular rooms between the apses of the hexagonal triclinium hall. It has been suggested that these were mausolea, placed there so that the deceased could be close to the relics of St. Euphemia, which were apparently enshrined beneath the altar.

The excavations revealed thirteen paintings in fresco in the southwestern part of the church, where they are now preserved *in situ* under a shed. Twelve of the paintings depict scenes from the life and martyrdom of St. Euphemia, while the other shows the Martyrs of Sebaste. The paintings are dated to the thirteenth century.

The martyrium was destroyed *c.* 1520, when the adjacent Palace of Ibrahim Paşa was built on the west side of the Hippodrome. Euphemia's relics were then transferred to the Greek Orthodox patriarchate, which was then in the Church of the Pammakaristos on the Fifth Hill. The relics are now in the present patriarchate in the Fener quarter beside the Golden Horn, enshrined in a casket in the south aisle of the Church of St. George.

Heraclius now concentrated all of his forces on the eastern frontiers, where on 12 December 627 he won a decisive victory over the Persian king Chosroes II, who was killed soon afterward and replaced by his son Kavadh-Siroes. The new king sued for peace, and Heraclius accepted his terms, which included the return to the empire of all disputed territory.

Meanwhile a new and far more formidable power had emerged in Arabia, where the Islamic era began with the flight of the prophet Muhammed from Mecca in 622. The armed might of Islam became evident in 636, when a Byzantine army commanded by the emperor's brother Theodorus was virtually annihilated by the Arabs at the battle of the Yarmuk in Jordan. This opened up all of Syria and Jordan to the Arabs, who captured Jerusalem in 638 and Caesarea two years later, at which time their forces also overran Egypt.

By that time Heraclius was a dying man, his spirit broken by the loss of all he had fought so long and hard to win. He finally passed away on 11 February 641 and was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles.

Heraclius began a dynasty that lasted, with interruptions, for just over a century. Two of his sons, Constantine III (r. 641) and Heraclonas (r. 641), ruled as co-emperors for a few months in 641. Constantine died of tuberculosis on 24 May of that year, and toward the end of September Heraclonas was deposed by the senate and exiled along with his mother, the Empress Martina. The senate ordered that Heraclonas have his nose cut off to prevent his return to power – the first instance in Byzantine history of the mutilation known as *rhinokopia* – while Martina had her tongue slit.

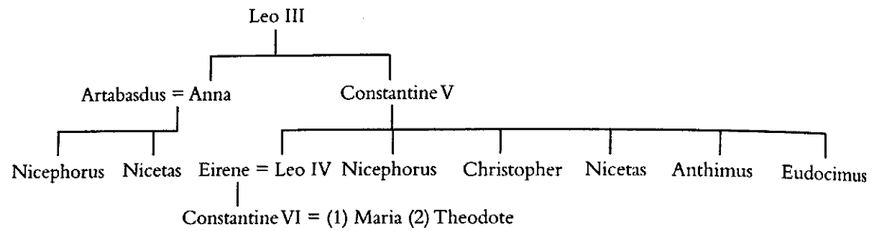
Heraclonas was succeeded by his eleven-year-old nephew Constans, son of Constantine III. The reign of Constans II (r. 641–68) was an almost constant struggle with the Arabs, who first invaded Asia Minor in 641, with their fleets ravaging the coasts and islands of the eastern Mediterranean. The Arab invasions so depressed Constants that in 660 he decided to abandon Constantinople and reestablish his capital in the West. He eventually made his way to Sicily, where he set up his headquarters in Syracuse. Two years later he sent for his wife and sons to join him there, but the people of Constantinople refused to let them go, fearing that their city would lose its imperial status and be abandoned to the barbarians. Then on 15 July 668 Constans was assassinated in Syracuse, and his eldest son succeeded to the throne as Constantine IV (r. 668–85) in Constantinople.

The new emperor was sixteen when he came to the throne. He spent much of his reign defending the empire against Arab invasions launched by the caliph Muawiya. The first of these occurred in 668, when an Arab fleet under Muawiya's son Yazid penetrated as far as Chalcedon. The following year the Arabs crossed the Bosphorus and put Constantinople under siege, but they were unable to breach the Theodosian Walls and were forced to withdraw.

The next assault began in 674 when an Arab fleet used Cyzicus as a base to attack Constantinople, but the Byzantines routed them with their devastating "Greek fire," a flammable fluid that they sprayed on the enemy ships with siphons and then ignited. The Arabs withdrew to Cyzicus for the winter, from which they emerged annually each spring for the next four years. But after their fifth assault, in 678, they gave up and sailed back to the Mediterranean, where the remainder of their fleet was destroyed in a storm. Muawiye was then forced to come to terms with Constantine, agreeing to a thirty-year peace treaty.

Constantine died in late July 685 and was succeeded by his son Justinian II (r. 685–95, 705–11), who was sixteen when he came to the throne. Justinian was deposed in 695, but regained the throne a decade later. His second reign lasted until 711, when he was overthown and killed in a revolt led by an Armenian general named Bardanes, whose supporters gave him the Greek name of Philippicus when they made him emperor. Immediately after his accession, Philippicus (r. 711–14) ordered the execution of Justinian's young son, Tiberius, who was "slaughtered like a sheep," according to one of the chronicles. The imperial Heraclian dynasty thus ended, 101 years after Heraclius had ascended the throne.

Philippicus was the first of three ephemeral emperors who ruled in turn during the next six years, his successors being Anastasius II (r. 714–15) and Theodosius III (r. 715–17). All three were eventually being deposed and confined to monasteries.



76. The Syrian dynasty, 717–802 (from Ostrogorsky)

A new dynasty began with the accession of Leo III (Fig. 76), the Syrian (r. 717–45). At the very beginning of his reign, Leo was forced to defend Constantinople against another Arab attack, which once again was repulsed by the terrible Greek fire. The populace attributed the deliverance of their city to the Virgin, whose sacred icon from the shrine at Blachernai had been carried in procession along the Theodosian Walls during the siege, a practice that was repeated in the following centuries whenever Byzantium was threatened.

Leo's reign saw the beginning of the greatest religious controversy in the history of Byzantium, the Iconoclastic Crisis. This upheaval reflected the split between Greek West and Anatolian East in the Orthodox Church – between the iconodules, who believed that sacred images were merely revered representations of those they depicted, and the iconoclasts, who shared with Muslims the idea that icons were in themselves the objects of worship and that worship of icons was idolatrous and to be condemned.

Leo began his campaign to eliminate icons in 726. His actions led to revolts in both the army and the navy, but he put these down easily. He then formalized his iconoclastic policy in 730 with an imperial edict banning figurative images in the churches and monasteries of the empire. Leo's iconoclasm was opposed by the leading monasteries in the empire, many of whose monks were imprisoned or fled into exile. Leo died on 18 June 741, leaving behind him an empire riven by internal turmoil brought on by his iconoclasm.

Leo was succeeded by his son Constantine V (r. 741–75), known to Byzantine chroniclers as Copronymous, or "Named for Dung," because he had supposedly defecated while being baptized in Hagia Sophia. The new emperor was twenty-two years old when he came to the throne. The first major task of his reign was the restoration of Hagia Eirene, which had been severely damaged by an earthquake six months before his accession. He appears to have completed this project in the 750s, and he also rebuilt a number of other churches; repaired the Theodosian walls; dredged the Harbor of Julian; restored the city's water-supply system, including its aqueducts, which had been inoperative since the Avar siege of 626; reorganized the commercial areas of the city; and reestablished court ceremonial.

Constantine relentlessly followed his father's iconoclastic policy. Six years into his rule, Constantinople was stricken by a terrible outbreak of the plague, which left the city "almost uninhabited," according to the chronicler Nikephoros. The populace believed that the plague was due to the wrath of God, incurred by the emperor's iconoclasm. But this was the last major outbreak of the plague in Constantinople, which may have been one of the factors that led to a change for the better in the city's fortunes.

Constantine was forced to repopulate the city with people from mainland Greece and the Aegean isles. But the population of Constantinople never again in Byzantine times regained the level of Justinian's reign, when it probably reached half a million.

Constantine renewed the campaign against idolatry in 754 by convening a synod of the church that condemned icon worship anew. Thenceforth he carried out his iconoclastic policy with even greater vigor than before, directing it particularly against the monks in the capital and forcing many of them to flee. Those who did not escape were subject to imprisonment, sometimes after torture and mutilation, and many were executed in what became a reign of terror.

Constantine died on 14 September 775, while on campaign against the Bulgars. He was succeeded by his son Leo IV (r. 775–80), who continued his father's policy of iconoclasm. Leo's wife Eirene, an Athenian, was a dedicated iconodule, but she kept this secret from her husband. Leo IV renewed the persecution of iconodules in 780. He confiscated the treasures of churches and monasteries and imprisoned and tortured many monks and nuns. That same year he went off on a campaign against the Bulgars but fell ill en route and then died on 8 September 780.

Leo was succeeded by his son Constantine VI (r. 780–97). Constantine was not yet ten at the time, and so his mother Eirene served as regent. Eirene immediately set out to restore icons, dismissing iconoclasts in the government and army and replacing them with iconodules. Her policy led to two insurrections on the eastern frontiers, which allowed the Arabs to invade Asia Minor once again, and it also caused the Slavs in Greece to rise up in revolt.

The climax of Eirene's efforts to restore icons came with her convocation of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, which began at Nicaea on 24 September 787. After a month of meetings, the council issued a decree restoring icons, with the provision that holy pictures should be venerated and not adored.

The effect of the decree was only temporary, for it was revoked by another church council, held in Hagia Sophia in April 815. The council was convened by Leo V, the Armenian (r. 811–20), a confirmed iconoclast who held that the recent defeats suffered by the empire were due to divine displeasure with the worship of icons. Leo had come to the throne two years earlier after the previous emperor, the iconodule Michael I (r. 811–13), had been defeated by the Bulgars under their khan, Krum, whose advance had taken him as far as the walls of Constantinople.

THE WALL OF LEO V

Shortly after Krum withdrew, Leo built a new line of fortifications outside the Wall of Heraclius, which had proved to be a weak point during the Bulgar siege. The new fortifications, known as the Wall of Leo V (Fig. 77), stands about TWENTY-FIVE meters to the west of the Wall of Heraclius, running parallel to it for eighty meters before turning to join the sea walls along the Golden Horn.



77. The Wall of Leo V

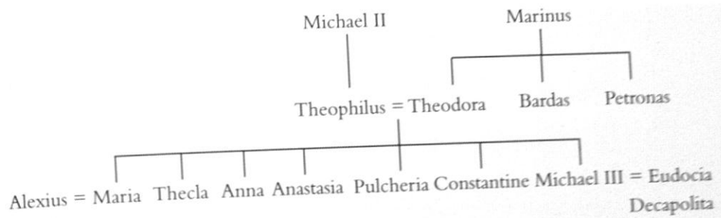
The wall was studded with four small defense towers, two of them on the side facing the Golden Horn and the other two flanking the westward side. Between the two latter towers there was a portal aligned with the gateway in the Wall of Heraclius, the two of them known as the Gate of Blachernai. The Wall of Leo V and the Wall of Heraclius together formed a fortified enclosure, the southern part of which has since early Ottoman times served as a Turkish graveyard.

Leo's reign came to an end on Christmas Day 820, when he was assassinated in the palace chapel by supporters of Michael the Amorian, who had been imprisoned by the emperor. After the prisoner was freed of his shackels, he was crowned as Michael II (r. 820–29), thus beginning the Amorian dynasty (Fig. 78).

The new emperor was also an iconoclast, but he was far more tolerant than his predecessors. One of Michael's first acts as emperor was to release all of the monks who had been imprisoned and to bring back to the city those who had been exiled. During the next four years he put down a serious revolt by Thomas the Slav, and in the four years following that he drove the Arabs out of Sicily and Crete.

Michael died on 2 October 829 and was succeeded by his son Theophilus. Theophilus was already married to Theodora, whom he had chosen as his bride in a "contest of beauty" soon after he was made co-emperor in 821. Theodora presented Michael with five daughters in succession before the birth of their first son, Constantine, who died in infancy. Then on 19 January 840 she gave birth to a healthy son, the future Michael III, who was made co-emperor soon after his baptism.

Theophilus was an iconoclast, but like his father he was reasonably tolerant. Theodora, on the other hand, was a devoted iconodule, though she kept her icons hidden from her husband in their apartment in the Great Palace.



78. The Amorian dynasty, 820–867 (from Ostrogorsky)

The Palace of Magnaura

Theophilus built a number of new edifices within the Great Palace. According to the chronicler known as Theophanes Continuatus, Theophilus erected these buildings on terraces that he extended from the southern side of the Great Palace, decorating them sumptuously and surrounding them with gardens.

The most notable of the edifices erected by Theophilus was the Palace of Magnaura, where he had his technicians build a fantastic mechanical tree above his throne to astound foreign ambassadors. The tree and other marvels in the palace are described by Liutprand of Cremona, who came to Constantinople as an ambassador on three occasions in the mid-tenth century. On the first occasion, in 949, he came as an emissary from Berengar, marquis of Ivrea, to the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, and it is in his account of this visit that he describes the Palace of Magnaura and its marvelous mechanical tree:

> Next to the imperial residence at Constantinople there is a palace of remarkable size and beauty which the Greeks call *Magnaura*, the name signifying "fresh breeze." . . . Before the throne of the emperor there rose a throne of gilded bronze, its branches full of birds fashioned of the same material, all singing different songs according to their kind. The throne itself was so contrived that at one moment it stood low on the ground and the next moment it would suddenly be raised high in the air. It was of immense size, made of either wood or bronze (for I cannot be sure), and guarded by gilded lions who beat the ground with their tails and emitted dreadful roars, their mouths open and their tongues quivering. Leaning on the shouders of two eunuchs, I was led into the Emperor's presence. Immediately the lions began to roar and the birds to sing, but I myself displayed no terror or surprise at these marvels, having received prior warning from others who were already well acquainted with them. After I had three times made my obeisance I raised my head and lo! he whom I had seen only a moment before on a throne scarcely elevated from the ground was now clad in different robes and sitting on a level with the roof. How this was achieved I cannot tell, unless it was by a device similar to those we employ for lifting the timbers of a wine press. He did not address me on this occasion – in

> view of the distance between us any conversation would have been most unseemly – but inquired through the Logothete as to the life and health of Berengar. I made an appropriate reply, and then at a signal from the interpreter left the chamber and returned to my lodging.[2]

Liutprand's account seems to have inspired William Butler Yeats to write "Sailing to Byzantium": "I have read somewhere," Yeats wrote in a note on this poem, "that in the Emperor's palace at Byzantium was a tree made of gold and silver, and artificial birds that sang."

Theophilus spent most of his reign in warfare against the Arabs, beginning with his expeditions against them in 829 and 830. The latter campaign, which penetrated into the Arab domains in Cilicia, was so successful that Theophilus awarded himself a triumph when he returned to Constantinople. A chronicler reported that the city was "decked like a bridal chamber" for the occasion, with the path of the emperor's procession from the Golden Gate to Hagia Sophia strewn with flowers. Theophilus then repaired the land walls of the city and greatly strengthened the sea walls along the Marmara and the Golden Horn, as evidenced by the many inscriptions bearing his name that have been recorded on the towers and curtain walls along the shore.

The Sea Walls

The sea walls (Fig. 79) extended along the shores of both the Golden Horn and the Marmara to link up with the land walls. The oldest sections of these maritime fortifications are on the shore below the First Hill, where stones from the sea walls of ancient Byzantium have been identified in the lower courses of the medieval Byzantine walls.

As rebuilt by Theophilus, the walls along the Golden Horn were ten meters high and some five kilometers long, protected by 110 defense towers at regular intervals. Considerable stretches of wall still remain, although almost all are in ruins. The walls were penetrated by about a score of gates (Fig. 80) and posterns, of which two remain, known in Turkish as Cibalı Kapı and Ayakapı. Cibalı Kapı has been identified as the ancient Porta Putea and Ayakapı as the Gate of St. Theodosia. The location of other gates in the walls along the Golden Horn can be determined easily, since the streets of the districts along the shore – Cibalı, Fener, Balat, and Ayvansaray – still converge on the sites of these ancient portals.

The best preserved and most impressive of the towers remaining from the sea walls along the Golden Horn is about 200 meters above the Galata Bridge. It is known in Turkish as Cafer Baba Kulesi, because a Turkish holy man named Cafer Baba is buried within it. Just to the north of the tower are the exiguous ruins of an ancient portal known in Turkish as Zindan Kapı, the Prison Gate. The gate takes its name from the tower, which in Ottoman times served as a prison for galley slaves. The Byzantine name of the gate is uncertain, but in early Ottoman



79. The Marmara sea walls

times it was known to the Greeks as Porta Caravion, the Gate of the Caravels, from the ships that docked on the shore of the Golden Horn to serve the great fruit and vegetable market located there up until the early 1960s. The next gate down the Golden Horn was probably the Porta Hebraica, since it led to the ancient Jewish quarter, now the site of Yeni Cami, the New Mosque.

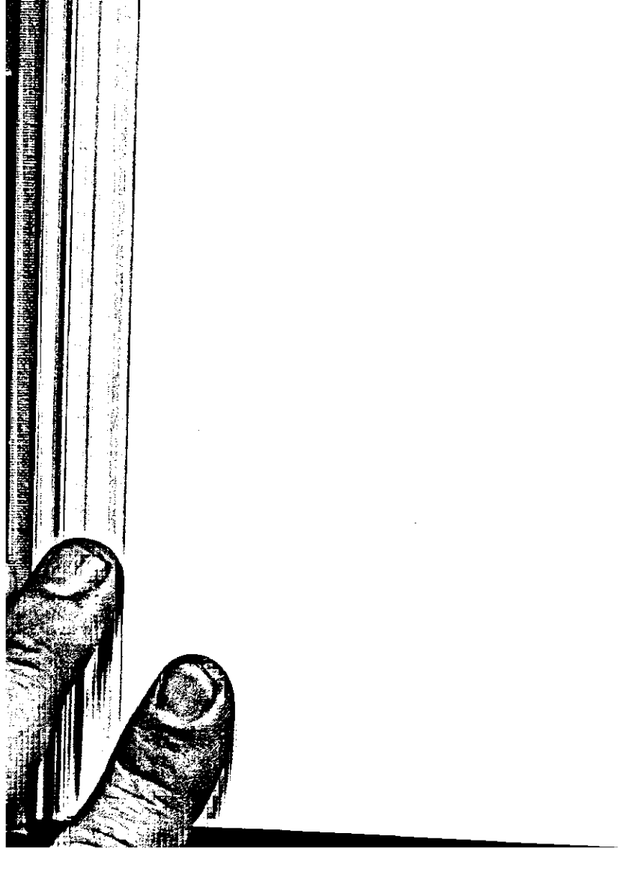
The fortifications along the Marmara consisted of a single line of walls twelve to fifteen meters high, with 188 towers at regular intervals over a distance of about eight kilometers. They were pierced by thirteen gates, of which the only survivor is Ahır Kapı, the Stable Gate, on the shore below the First Hill. The ancient name of the gate is unknown. Numerous inscriptions on the Marmara sea walls record constructions by Theophilus, the longest being one on the curtain wall immediately to the north of the blocked up gateway known in Turkish as Değirmen Kapısı: "Possessing Thee, O Christ, a Wall that cannot be broken, Theophilos, King and pious Emperor, erected this wall upon new foundations: which [wall], Lord of All, guard with Thy might, and display to the end of time standing unshaken and unmoved."

Theophilus died of dysentery on 20 January 842, in his thirty-ninth year. He was succeeded by his son Michael III, who was just two years old. Michael's mother, Theodora, was appointed as regent, assisted by her brother, the Caesar Bardas. Both Theodora and Bardas were devoted iconodules who

Michael, who first made him head of the imperial stables and then appointed him grand chamberlain.

Early in 866 Michael found that his mistress, Eudocia Ingerina, was pregnant. Rather than divorce his wife, Eudocia Decapolita, or allow his expected child to be born out of wedlock, Michael decided to marry Eudocia Ingerina off to Basil, who first had to divorce his own wife, Maria. After Basil married Eudocia Ingerina, she continued to be the emperor's mistress, and when later in 866 she bore a son, the future Leo VI, the child was generally assumed to be Michael's bastard.

Michael appointed Basil as his grand chamberlain, and then on 26 May 867 he crowned him as co-emperor. Basil waited for his opportunity, and on the night of 23 September, when the emperor fell into a drunken stupor, he summoned his henchmen and had Michael murdered. Since Basil was already co-emperor, he automatically became sole emperor on Michael's death. Thus began the illustrious Macedonian dynasty, which was to rule Byzantium for nearly two centuries.



9

The Macedonian Dynasty

A new era in Byzantine history began with the reign of Basil I (r. 867–86), the Macedonian (Fig. 81). The Dark Ages were coming to an end, and Byzantium had survived them to begin a political and cultural renaissance under Basil and his successors in the Macedonian dynasty. The most notable ruler of this dynasty was Basil II (r. 976–1025), under whom the Byzantines regained much of the territory they had lost since the death of Justinian. The bounds of the empire eventually encompassed all of Asia Minor and the Balkans, southernmost Italy, eastern Sicily, the Aegean islands, Crete, Cyprus, and the southern Crimea (Fig. 82). There was a cultural renaissance as well during the era of the Macedonian dynasty, and the reopening of the University of Constantinople signified the beginning of a new age of enlightenment after the dark centuries of the early medieval period. The recovery of the empire is evident in renewed building activity in Constantinople, represented by three extant churches in the city as well as substantial remains of three others, although the construction was on a more modest scale than in the time of Justinian.

The lives of the last two generations of the Macedonian dynasty and their immediate successors are described in the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellus, the court chamberlain during the final years of this era, who writes of how this distinguished imperial line rose above its bloody beginning:

> I doubt whether any other family has been so much favored by God as theirs has been: which is strange when one considers the criminal manner of its coming to power, and of how it was born of murder and bloodshed. And yet the plant took root, and sent out such mighty shoots, each bearing imperial fruit, that no other can be compared with it for beauty and splendor.[1]

Basil I began his reign by restoring the solvency of the government, which had become nearly bankrupt through the irresponsibility of Michael the Sot. Then, after an unsuccessful attempt to repel the Arabs in Sicily and Dalmatia, Basil led an expedition against the Paulicians, a schismatic Christian

(1) Maria = Basil I = (2) Eudocia Ingerina

Constantine (1) Theophano = Leo VI = (4) Zoe Alexander Stephen
(2) Zoe Zautzina
Romanus I Lecapenus (3) Eudocia

Christopher Stephen Constantine Theophylact Helena = Constantine VII

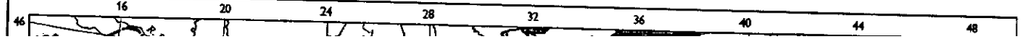
Maria = Peter of Bulgaria

Nicephorus II Phocas = Theophano = Romanus II Theodora = John I Tzimisces

Basil II Constantine VIII Anna = Vladimir of Kiev

Eudocia Zoe = (1) Romanus III Argyrus Theodora
(2) Michael IV
Michael V (adopted by Zoe)
(3) Constantine IX Monomachus

81. The Macedonian dynasty, 867–1056 (from Ostrogorsky)

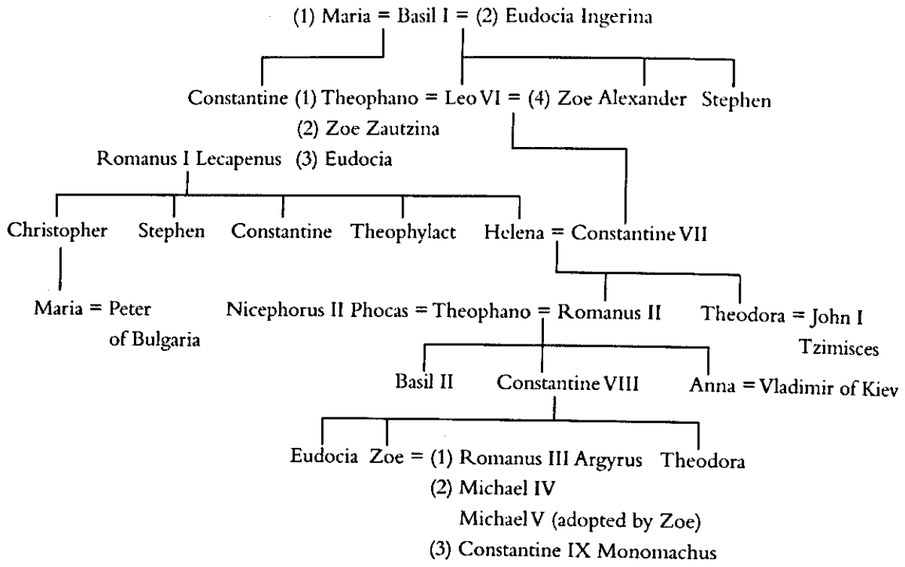


sect who had set up their own state in eastern Asia Minor. The Paulicians under their ruler Chrysocheir defeated Basil's forces and almost captured him in 870, after which they raided westward as far as Ancyra. The following year Basil sent an army under his son-in-law Christopher, who defeated the Paulicians and killed Chrysocheir, whose head was brought back to the emperor in Constantinople.

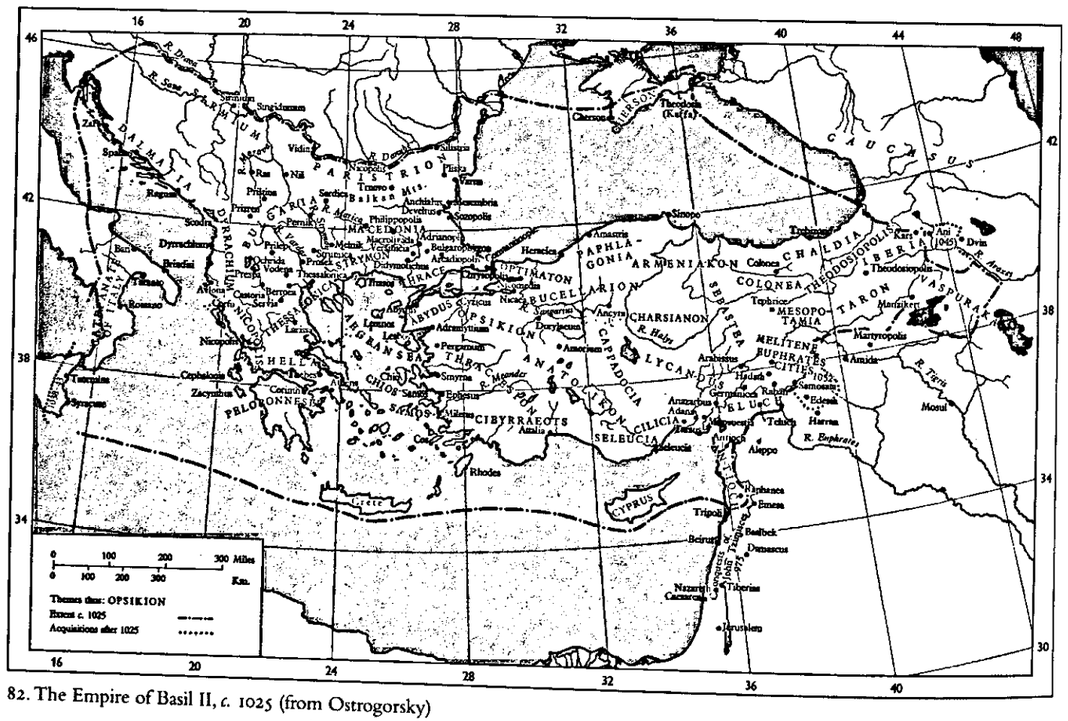
During the next decade Basil mounted several campaigns against the Arabs, who in 878 captured Syracuse, the main Byzantine stronghold in Sicily. The following year Basil and his son Constantine defeated the Arabs in eastern Asia Minor, and they celebrated their victory with a triumphal procession through the Golden Gate in Constantinople. But shortly afterward Constantine suddenly died, leaving Basil distraught, because the heir to the throne was now Leo, who was generally believed to be the son of Michael III. Basil hated Leo and would have preferred that his successor be Alexander, his real son, born to Eudocia Ingerina in 870. But Leo had already been crowned as co-emperor and could not easily be removed.

NEA EKKLESIA

According to the *Vita Basilii*, the emperor restored thirty-one churches in Constantinople and its vicinity, as well as erecting new structures in the Great Palace. As Robert Ousterhout remarks of Basil's building activities, "In fact, the text



81. The Macedonian dynasty, 867–1056 (from Ostrogorsky)



82. The Empire of Basil II, *c.* 1025 (from Ostrogorsky)

sect who had set up their own state in eastern Asia Minor. The Paulicians under their ruler Chrysocheir defeated Basil's forces and almost captured him in 870, after which they raided westward as far as Ancyra. The following year Basil sent an army under his son-in-law Christopher, who defeated the Paulicians and killed Chrysocheir, whose head was brought back to the emperor in Constantinople.

During the next decade Basil mounted several campaigns against the Arabs, who in 878 captured Syracuse, the main Byzantine stronghold in Sicily. The following year Basil and his son Constantine defeated the Arabs in eastern Asia Minor, and they celebrated their victory with a triumphal procession through the Golden Gate in Constantinople. But shortly afterward Constantine suddenly died, leaving Basil distraught, because the heir to the throne was now Leo, who was generally believed to be the son of Michael III. Basil hated Leo and would have preferred that his successor be Alexander, his real son, born to Eudocia Ingerina in 870. But Leo had already been crowned as co-emperor and could not easily be removed.

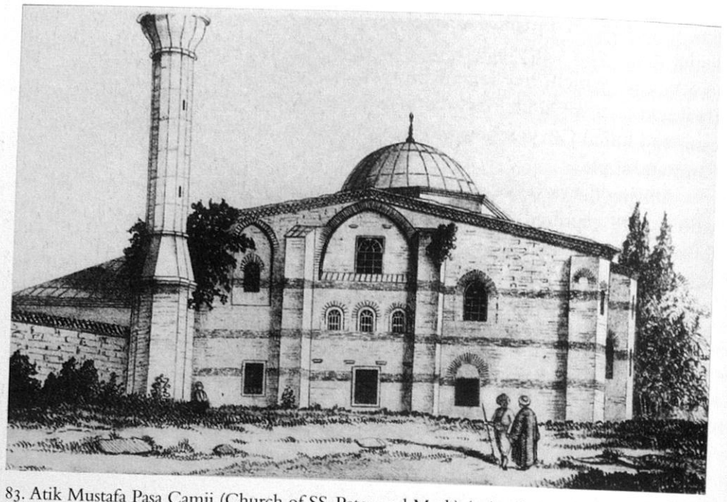
Nea Ekklesia

According to the *Vita Basilii*, the emperor restored thirty-one churches in Constantinople and its vicinity, as well as erecting new structures in the Great Palace. As Robert Ousterhout remarks of Basil's building activities, "In fact, the text emphasizes the restoration of isolated religious foundations rather than new constructions or civic buildings or the larger concerns of civic planning, as is evident from the text of the *Vita Basilii:*

> The Christ-loving emperor Basil, by means of continuous care and the abundant supply of all necessary things, raised from ruin many holy churches that had been rent asunder by prior earthquakes or had fallen down, or were threatening immediate collapse on account of the fractures [they had sustained], and to the solidity he added [a new] beauty."[2]

On 1 May 880 Basil dedicated a large and sumptuously decorated chapel in the Great Palace known as Nea Ekklesia, the New Church. The chapel was dedicated to Christ and his mother, the Theotokos, along with the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the prophet Elijah, and St. Nicholas of Myra. The church has not survived, but we have a description of the building in a Byzantine text known as an *ekphrasis*, a poetic work praising the beauties of the edifice and its decoration:

> This church, like a bride adorned with pearls and gold, with gleaming silver, with the variety of many-hued marble, with compositions of mosaic tesserae, he [Basil] offered to Christ, the immortal bridegroom. Its roof, consisting of five domes, gleams with gold, and is resplendent with beautiful images as with stars, while on the outside it is adorned with brass that resembles gold.[3]



83. Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (Church of SS. Peter and Mark) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

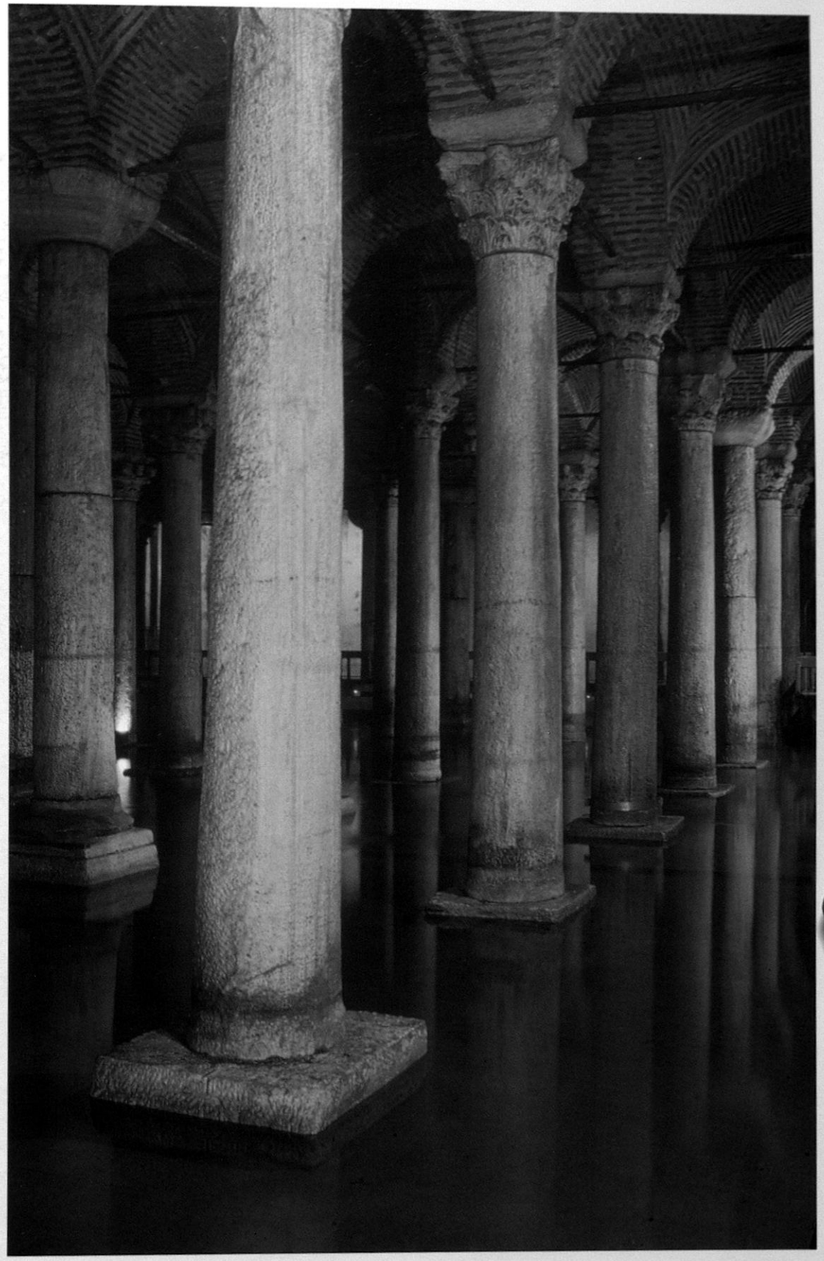
Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii

The former church now known as Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (Fig. 83, Plate XX) is near the shore of the Golden Horn in the Ayvansaray quarter, a short way inside the land walls of the city. It is about 100 meters east of Ayvansaray Kapı, the site of the ancient Porta Kiliomene, which gave access to the shrine and palace of Blachernai. It is named for Atik (also called Koca, both words meaning "Old") Mustafa Paşa, who was grand vizir in the reign of Sultan Beyazit II and converted the church into a mosque.

The building had been tentatively identified as the Church of SS. Peter and Mark, but this identification has been abandoned. No acceptable identification has been proposed, but the building would fit generally into ninth-century developments and is the only extant church in the city that would. Observations made by Dr. Lioba Theis during a restoration by the Vakıflar, or Turkish Bureau of Pious Foundations, clearly indicate that the corner compartments had gallery-level chapels and that the building was flanked by lateral porticoes.

The apsidal chamber to the right of the bema has been converted into a shrine dedicated to Cabir ibn Abdullah, a Muslim warrior who is believed to have been killed in one of the Arab sieges of Constantinople. Turkish restorations are also responsible for the wooden porch, the dome and its drum, and possibly some of the roofs and many of the windows. A wooden entrance has in modern times replaced the narthex. Otherwise the church preserves its original plan, the simplest form of the domed cross-in-square church.

The original dome on its high drum covered the center of the cross, resting on piers at the crossing (Fig. 84). Barrel vaults cover the arms of the cross as well



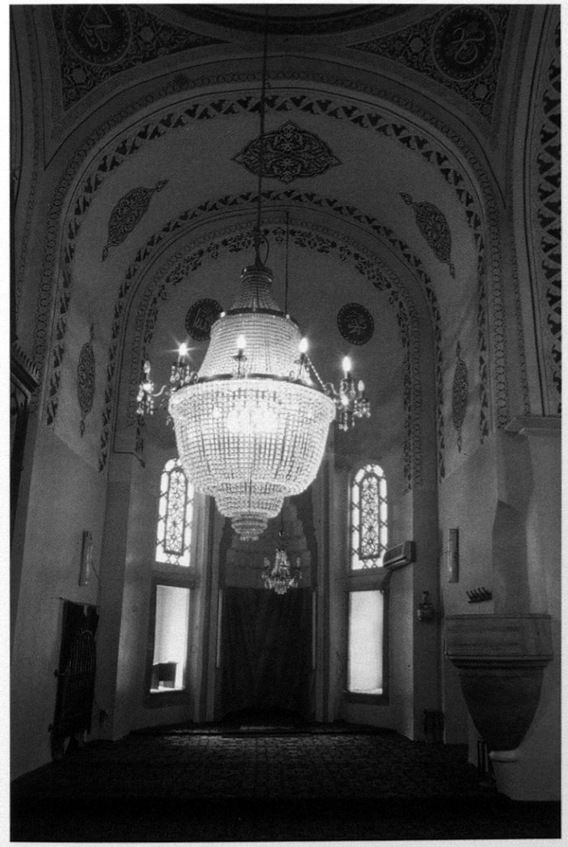
XVIII. The Basilica Cistern



XIX. Mosaic in the Great Palace



XX. Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (Church of SS. Peter and Mark)



XXI. Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, the nave, looking toward the apse



XXII. Fenari Isa Camii (Church of the Theotokos tou Libos)



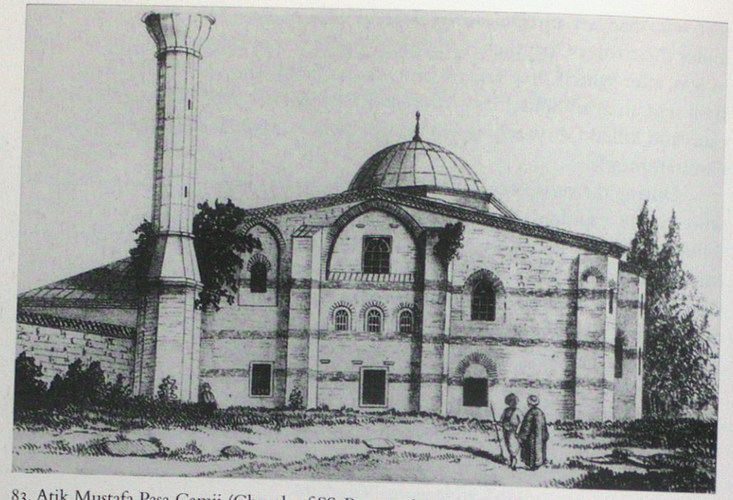
XXIII. Fenari Isa Camii, dome of the south church



XXIV. Church of the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii)



XXV. Church of the Myrelaion, dome and apse



83. Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (Church of SS. Peter and Mark) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

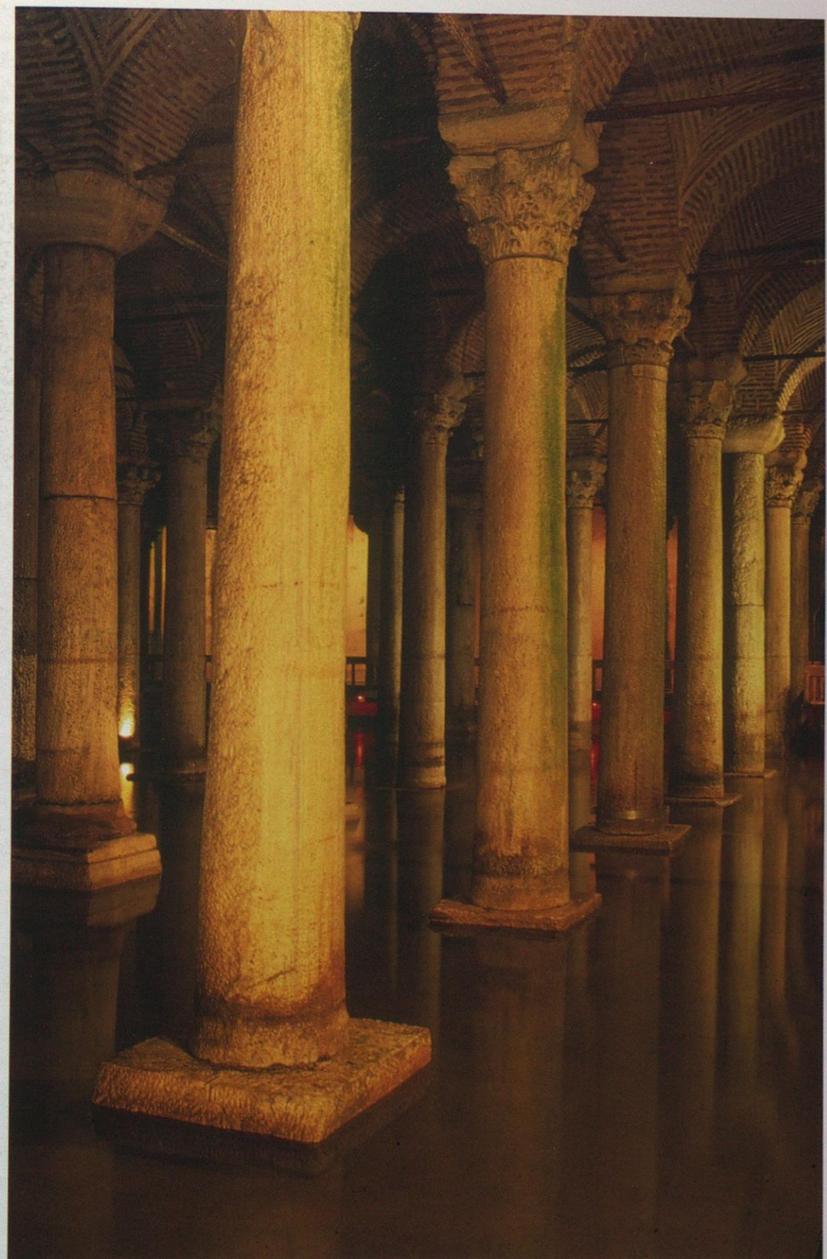
Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii

The former church now known as Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (Fig. 83, Plate XX) is near the shore of the Golden Horn in the Ayvansaray quarter, a short way inside the land walls of the city. It is about 100 meters east of Ayvansaray Kapı, the site of the ancient Porta Kiliomene, which gave access to the shrine and palace of Blachernai. It is named for Atik (also called Koca, both words meaning "Old") Mustafa Paşa, who was grand vizir in the reign of Sultan Beyazit II and converted the church into a mosque.

The building had been tentatively identified as the Church of SS. Peter and Mark, but this identification has been abandoned. No acceptable identification has been proposed, but the building would fit generally into ninth-century developments and is the only extant church in the city that would. Observations made by Dr. Lioba Theis during a restoration by the Vakıflar, or Turkish Bureau of Pious Foundations, clearly indicate that the corner compartments had gallery-level chapels and that the building was flanked by lateral porticoes.

The apsidal chamber to the right of the bema has been converted into a shrine dedicated to Cabir ibn Abdullah, a Muslim warrior who is believed to have been killed in one of the Arab sieges of Constantinople. Turkish restorations are also responsible for the wooden porch, the dome and its drum, and possibly some of the roofs and many of the windows. A wooden entrance has in modern times replaced the narthex. Otherwise the church preserves its original plan, the simplest form of the domed cross-in-square church.

The original dome on its high drum covered the center of the cross, resting on piers at the crossing (Fig. 84). Barrel vaults cover the

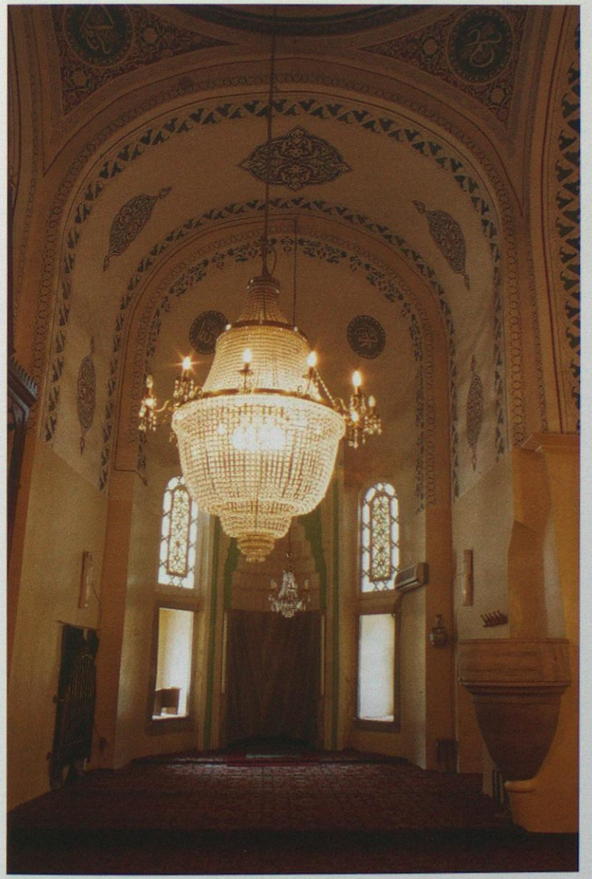




XIX. Mosaic in the Great Palace



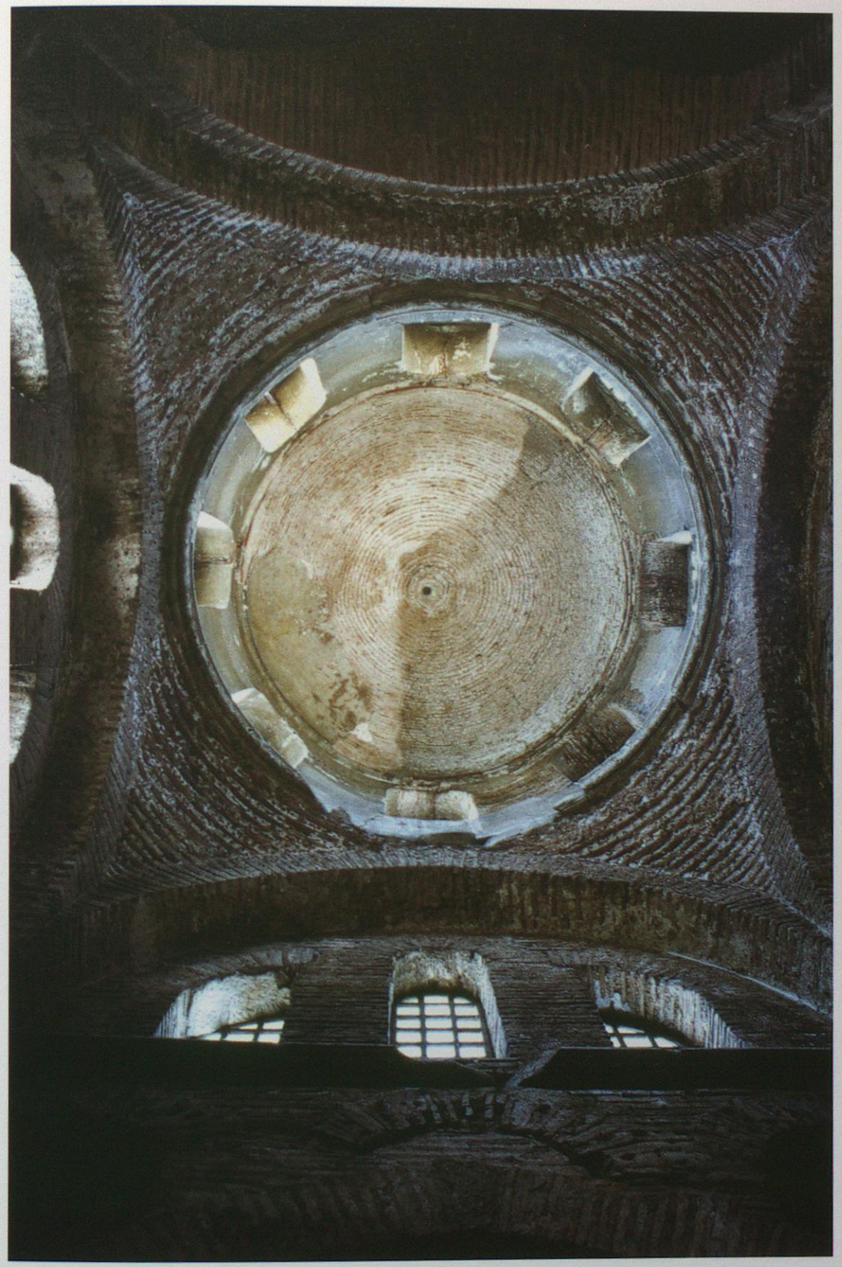
XX. Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (Church of SS. Peter and Mark)



XXI. Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, the nave, looking toward the apse



XXII. Fenari Isa Camii (Church of the Theotokos tou Libos)



XXIII. Fenari Isa Camii, dome of the south church



XXIV. Church of the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii)



XXV. Church of the Myrelaion, dome and apse



XXVI. Church of the Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii)



XXVII. Church of the Pantepoptes, dome and gallery over Narchex



XXVIII. Kilise Camii (Church of St. Theodore)



XXIX. Kilise Camii, dome and west end of nave



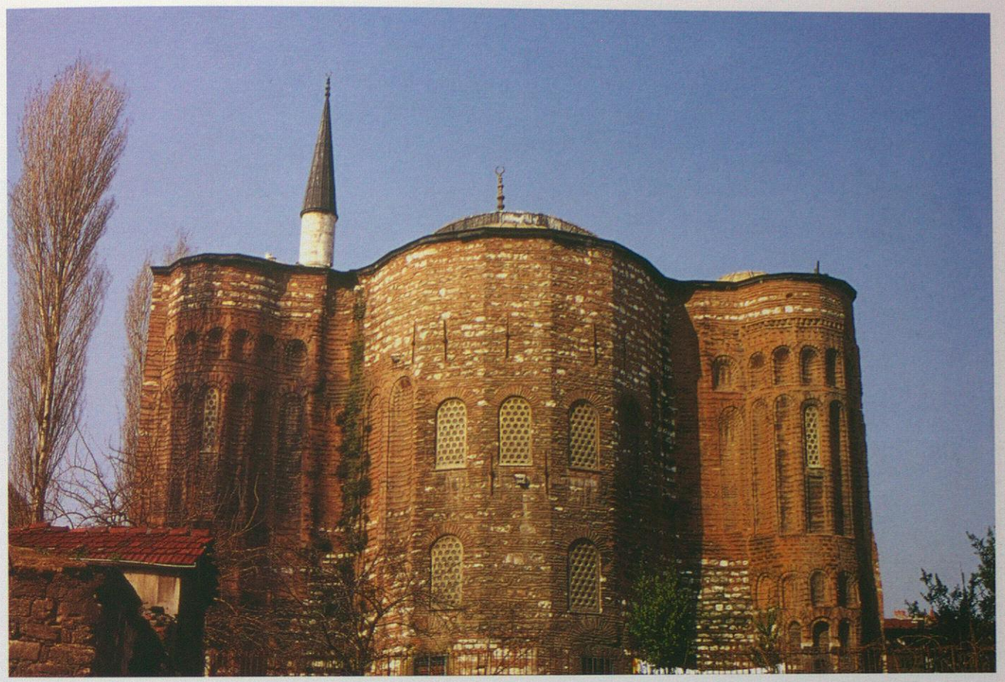
XXX. Church of the Pantokrator (Zeyrek Camii)



XXXI. Church of the Pantokrator, south church, dome and rear of nave



XXXII. Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi



XXXIII. Gül Camii (Church of St. Theodosia)



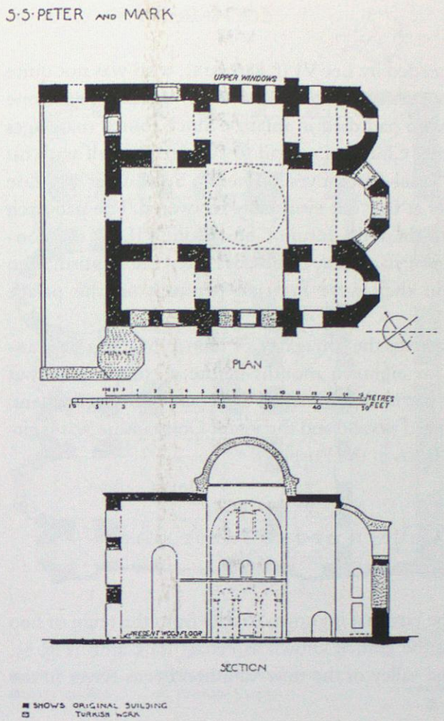
XXX. Church of the Pantokrator (Zeyrek Camii)



XXXI. Church of the Pantokrator, south church, dome and rear of nave



XXXIV. Gül Camii, dome and supporting piers, arches and pendentives



84. Plan and section of Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (from Ousterhout, based on Ebersolt and Thiers)

as the four small rooms beyond the dome piers that fill up the corners of the cross, entered through high, narrow arches. The three apses, semicircular within, have three faces of equal height on the exterior, one of the features that have lent support to the ninth-century dating (Plate XXI).

A study of the building indicates that the original dome was higher and had windows. Windows were closed up on all sides of the building except the west. There were three large windows on the lower level of the central apse as well as three smaller windows above. Originally the side apses each had a single narrow window at ground level and three windows above, with a small blind niche above the central window. The north and south walls had at the ground level a triple arcade, now partially bricked up; above the string course are three windows, still open; and higher up a three-light window, of which only the central part is still open. The triple arcades are believed to have opened from the cross arms into side aisles or porches.

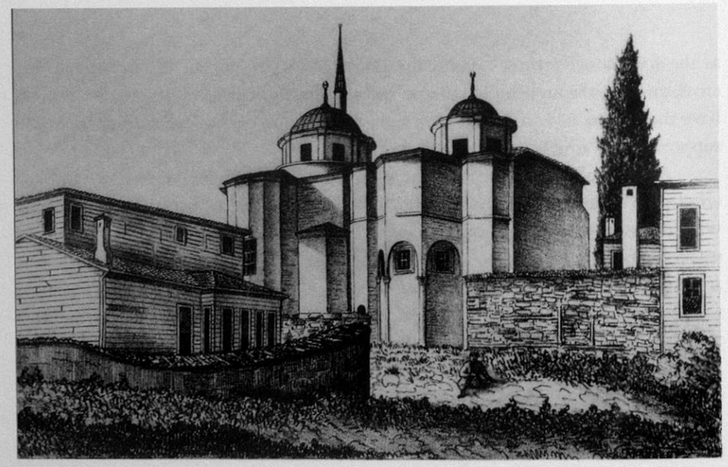
The Byzantine Institute in 1957 discovered fourteenth-century frescoes on the south side of the building and identified SS. Michael, Cosmas, and Damian, but these have since disappeared, with no record of how or why.

Basil died in 886 and was succeeded by Leo VI (r. 886–912), who was not quite twenty. Leo was widowed three times before he was thirty-five, and only one of his wives produced a son, who had died in infancy. Since fourth marriages were forbidden in the Orthodox Church, Leo had to content himself with his mistress, Zoe Carbonopsina ("Coal-Black Eyes"). Then in September 905 Zoe bore him a son, who was sickly at first but eventually recovered. The patriarch Nicholas agreed to baptize the child, the future Constantine VII, on the condition that Zoe leave the Great Palace. But three days after the baptism, Leo brought her back, whereupon they were married privately in the palace chapel.

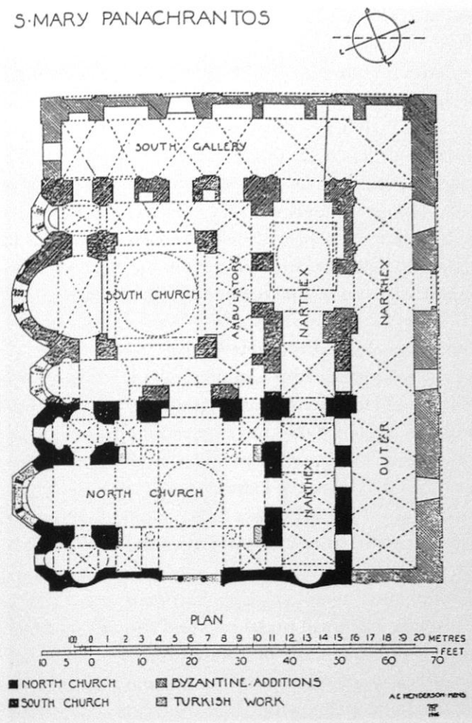
Thus began the affair known as the Tetragamy, or Fourth Marriage, a scandal that troubled Byzantium for eighteen months before a compromise was agreed on by Leo and the new patriarch, Euthemius I. As part of the agreement, the fourth marriage was recognized as valid and the infant Constantine was legitimized as "Porphyrogenitus" ("Born in the Purple").

Fenari Isa Camii (The Church of the Theotokos tou Libos)

There is only one building in the city that is known to date from the reign of Leo VI. This is the north church of the edifice known as Fenari Isa Camii (Fig. 85, Plate XXII), which stands in the valley of the now-vanished Lycus River in the center of the city.



85. Fenari Isa Camii (Church of the Theotokos tou Libos) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)



86. Plan of Fenari Isa Camii (from Ousterhout, from Van Millingen)

This complicated building, the various parts of which were constructed at different dates, consists of two churches, along with a double narthex and a side chapel (Fig. 86). Its original structure was altered in Ottoman times, when it was converted into a mosque.

The first church on this site, the one to the north, was built in 907 by Constantine Lips, a high official in the reigns of Leo VI and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. He died in battle in 917 during the war against the Bulgars under Tsar Symeon. The church was dedicated to the Theotokos tou Libos and served the convent that Constantine Lips founded at the same time (which housed fifty nuns) and also a *xenodocheion,* or hospice for travellers. The establishment apparently fell into disuse during the Latin Occupation of 1204–61, for soon after the recapture of the city by the Byzantines the monastery was refounded by the Empress Theodora, wife of Michael VIII Palaeologus. At the same time the empress also added another church to the south, an outer narthex for both churches, and a chapel to the south of her new church, which chapel was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. These additions were made in two construction

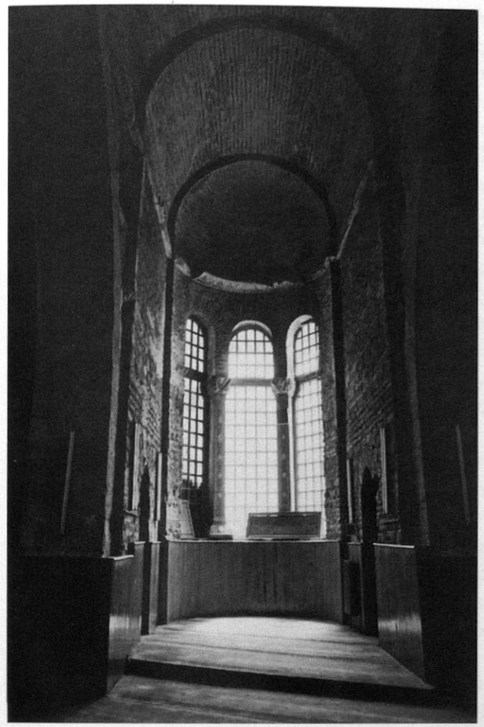
phases beginning in 1287, five years after the death of Michael VIII, and ending in 1303, a year before the death of the empress Theodora.

The church was converted into a mosque toward the end of the fifteenth century by Alaeddin Ali of the Fenari family, and thenceforth it was known as Fenari Isa Camii. Other than the erection of a minaret at the southwest corner, the conversion did not involve any important change in the structure of the building. But then the mosque was seriously damaged by a fire in 1633, and in a restoration three years later the structure was substantially modified. The mosque was badly damaged by another fire in 1917, which destroyed the surrounding quarter. The mosque was then abandoned until its final restoration, begun in 1960 by the Ministry of Pious Foundations and completed by the Byzantine Institute of America, directed by A. H. S. Megaw, whose study of the building was supplemented by the research of Cyril Mango and Ernest Hawkins.

The original north church constructed by Constantine Lips was of the cross-in-square type. Also known as a four-column church, from the ninth century onward this was the most common type in Byzantine architecture. The columns of the north church were removed in the Ottoman period, though three of the bases remain. The north church had five apses, the extra ones to north and south belonging to lateral chapels flanking the pastophoria, a feature quite common in this period. These chapels opened into the eastern corner bay of the naos and also had independent western entrances. The northern chapel was demolished, while the southern one was incorporated into the south church. The main apse (Fig. 87) and its barrel-vaulted bema are flanked by small lateral bays and tiny but tall apsidal chapels that served as pastophoria, namely, the prothesis, where the Eucharist was stored and prepared, and the *diakonikon,* or sacristy. The crossarms of the naos open in steep triple windows on stilted arches, with large tripartite semicircular windows above. The five apses opened in richly decorated triple windows in the central apse and those projecting from the north and south sides, alternating with plain single windows in the pastophoria.

The church was preceded on its west side by a narthex of three groin-vaulted bays separated by arches, the central bay opening onto a porch. There was a stair tower to the south leading to a gallery above the narthex, opening at vault level into the west end of the naos through a triple arcade. The two end bays of the gallery open up to a pair of small chapels above the two corner bays at the west end of the naos. There are also small chapels over the two corner bays at the east end of the naos; these were approached by open exterior galleries carried on corbels, with their entrances at the north and south ends of the narthex gallery. The four roof chapels were covered with domes carried on high drums, their cupolas surrounding the main dome of the church.

The south church created by the Empress Theodora was of the ambulatory type; that is, its nave was divided from the aisles by a triple arcade to north, west, and south, with each arcade separated by two columns (Fig. 88, Plate XXIII) (All of this was removed in Ottoman times, but the bases of some of the columns still remain, and one can see the narrow arches of the arcades above, embedded in the Turkish masonry.) Robert Ousterhout has suggested that the ambulatory type was created to allow burials in close proximity to the naos. The northern apse of the south



87. Fenari Isa Camii, apse of north church

church was the southern apse of the older church. Thus there were in all seven apses, six of which remain and make the eastern façade of the building exceedingly attractive. The south church, as noted, was designed as a funerary chapel, with burials made in arcosolia in the south and west aisles of the naos and in the narthex. The narthex was asymmetrical, for most of what would have been its northern end was taken up by the stair tower of the north church. Most of the narthex is comprised of its southern bay, covered by a dome.

A final construction phase added a parekklesion, or side chapel, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, with additional arcosolia for more burials. This extended along the entire south side of the church in six bays, joining up with an exonarthex of six bays that stretched along the west side of both the south and north churches. On the interior walls a certain amount of good sculptured decoration survives in cornices and window frames, especially in the north church.

The chapel of St. John was designed as a place of burial, and several members of the imperial Palaeologus family were interred there during the course of the next two centuries, beginning with the empress Theodora herself, who was buried there on 16 February 1304. Other members of the family buried there include

Theodora's sons, the prince Constantine and the emperor Andronicus III (r. 1328–41), as well as the princess Irene of Brunswick, first wife of Andronicus III, and the Princess Anna of Kiev, first wife of John VIII (r. 1423–48). Neither Irene nor Anna lived to become empress of Byzantium, for they died before their husbands were raised to the throne. A contemporary chronicle tells of how Anna, in a city terrified by the Black Death, was buried in the church in the dead of night.

When Leo VI died, on 11 May 912, Constantine was only six, and though he had been crowned as co-emperor four years before, he did not inherit his father's throne. Instead Leo was succeeded by his brother Alexander, who had been co-emperor since 879.

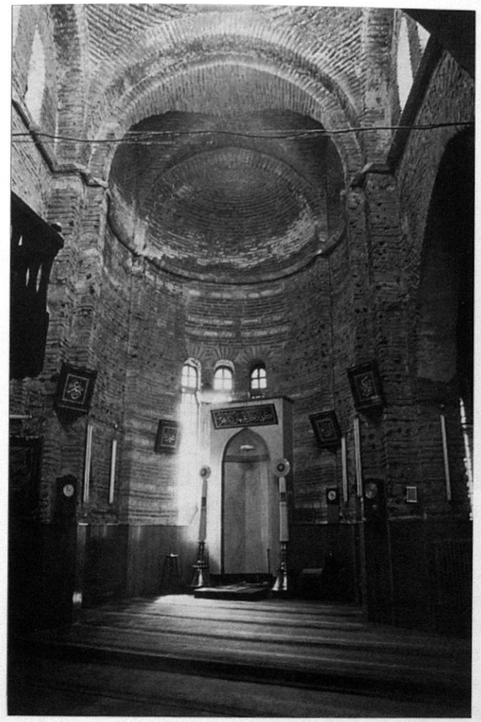
Alexander (r. 912–13), who was forty-one when he came to the throne, ruled for less than thirteen months. His reign was a disgrace to the empire. He received the Bulgar ambassadors while drunk and dismissed them with insults, leading Tsar Symeon to make immediate preparations for war. On several occasions he shocked the populace of Constantinople by putting on pagan processions in public in mockery of the divine liturgy. Alexander met his end when he collapsed during a drunken polo match, dying two days later, on 4 June 913.

Zoe's son now succeeded to the throne as Constantine VII. Zoe herself ruled as his regent until 25 March 919, when the grand admiral Romanus Lecapenus, an Armenian, took control of Constantinople, establishing himself as Constantine's protector. Romanus betrothed his daughter Helena to Constantine, and they were wed in Hagia Sophia on 4 May 919, three weeks before the emperor's fourteenth birthday. Constantine appointed his father-in-law as Caesar on 24 September 920, and then on 17 December 920 Romanus (r. 920–44) was crowned as co-emperor. Early the following year Romanus gave himself precedence over Constantine VII, who at age fifteen would otherwise have been almost ready to rule as emperor on his own. Two months later Romanus crowned his eldest son, Christopher, as co-emperor, and later still he crowned his two younger sons, Stephen and Constantine, as co-emperors, obviously trying to displace the legitimate emperor, Constantine VII, and begin his own dynasty. However, fate intervened to frustrate his plans, beginning with the premature death of Christopher in 932. According to Theophanes Continuatus, Romanus grieved for his son with a sorrow "greater than the grievous mourning of the Egyptians."

Romanus was overthrown in a palace revolt on 17 December 944 by his sons Stephen and Constantine. He was then exiled to a monastery on Prote (Kınalı), one of the Princes Isles, while Stephen and Constantine ruled as co-emperors. But a second palace revolution overthrew them in turn on 27 September 945, after which they were sent to join their father in exile. Stephen and Constantine were subsequently sent into more distant exile in the Aegean, while Romanus remained on Prote, where he died on 15 June 948.

The Church of the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii)

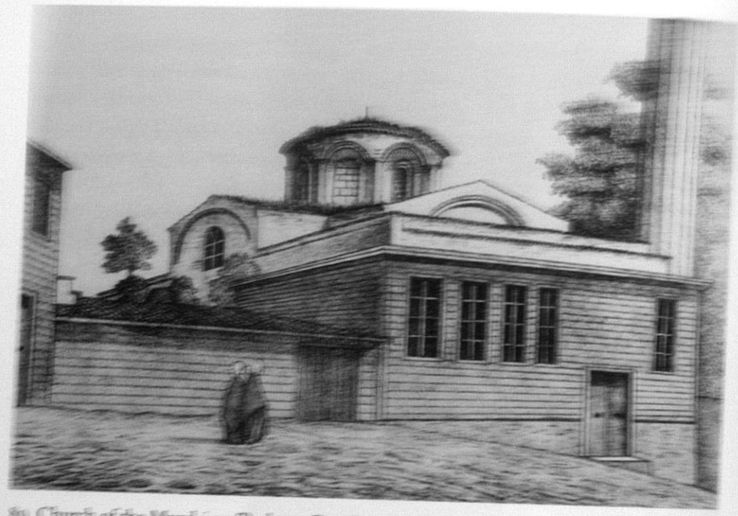
There is one building complex in the city that can definitely be credited to Romanus Lecapenus. The complex comprises the former church now known as



88. Fenari Isa Camii, apse of south church

Bodrum Cami, together with the subterranean structure beside it, the so-called Rotunda.

Bodrum Cami (Fig. 89, Plate XXIV) is in the Laleli district some 400 meters north of the Vlanga quarter on the Marmara shore, in what was the Ninth Region of Byzantine Constantinople. Pierre Gilles, in his description of the Ninth Region, writes that "above Blanchae [Vlanga] to the north there stands a temple on an eminence called Myrelaos; inside of which was a cistern, the roof of which is supported by about sixty marble pillars."[4] The cistern mentioned by Gilles is actually the Rotunda, which by various estimates had seventy to eighty columns. Thus it has been concluded that the building that Gilles calls "Myrelaos" is in fact Bodrum Cami. This led some authorities to identify it as the Church of the Myrelaion ("the place of the Holy Myrrh"), built by the Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus. This identification has been confirmed by Professor Cecil L. Striker in his work *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (1988), based on his excavation of the site in the years 1965–6 and his study of the evidence of an excavation by David Talbot Rice in 1930. The present description is based entirely on Striker's work.



89. Church of the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) (print from Paspates, c. 1876)

Tenth-century chroniclers all state that the Myrelaion was founded by Romanus I Lecapenus, and two of them, those who continued the chronicles of Theophanes and George the Monk, say that he transformed his house into a monastery. It is evident that Romanus intended the Myrelaion to be the burial place of his family, for in the years 922–61 six of them were interred there. The first was his wife Helena, who had died in 922; followed in 931 by their eldest son Christopher; then in 946 their son Constantine and his wife Helena; then in 948 Romanus himself, reinterred there after having died in exile on the island of Prote; and finally in 961 his daughter Helena, the widow of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. The burial of the empress Theodora at the Myrelaion in 922 indicates that the church would then have been complete, or almost complete, and that Romanus probably began construction soon after he was crowned emperor in December 920.

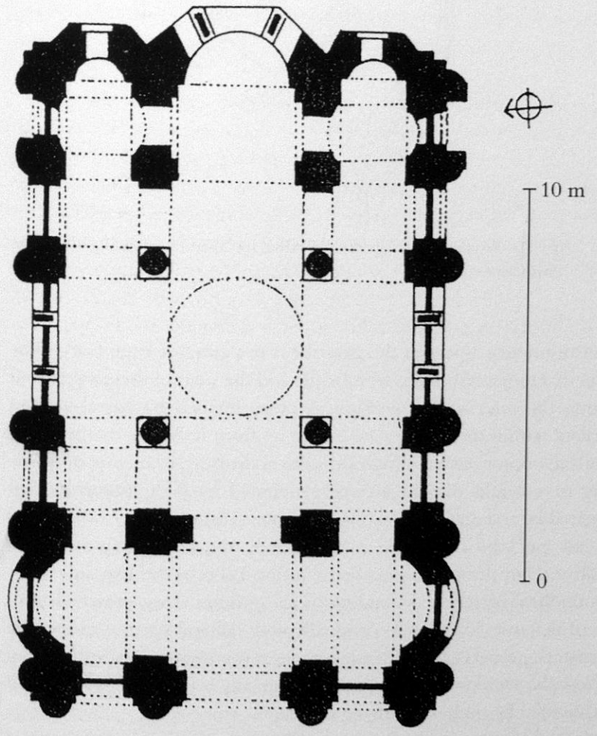
The Myrelaion was built by Romanus adjacent to his palace, which is first referred to by the eleventh-century chronicler John Scylitzes. The church stands at the southeast corner of a high, flat terrace, which covers the lower walls of the immense fifth-century structure known as the Rotunda. Excavations have revealed that the palace was erected along the eastern side of the terrace, facing west, with the vaulted substructure of the Rotunda beneath it serving as a cistern.

The Myrelaion was badly damaged by fire in 1203. The church was remodeled around 1300, at which time its substructure was rebuilt as a funerary chapel. The building was converted into a mosque late in the fifteenth century by Mesih Ali Paşa the Elder, a descendant of the Palaeologus dynasty who converted to Islam. He became a high minister in the reigns of Mehmet II and Beyazit II, commanding the Ottoman forces in the unsuccessful attack on Rhodes in 1480. The

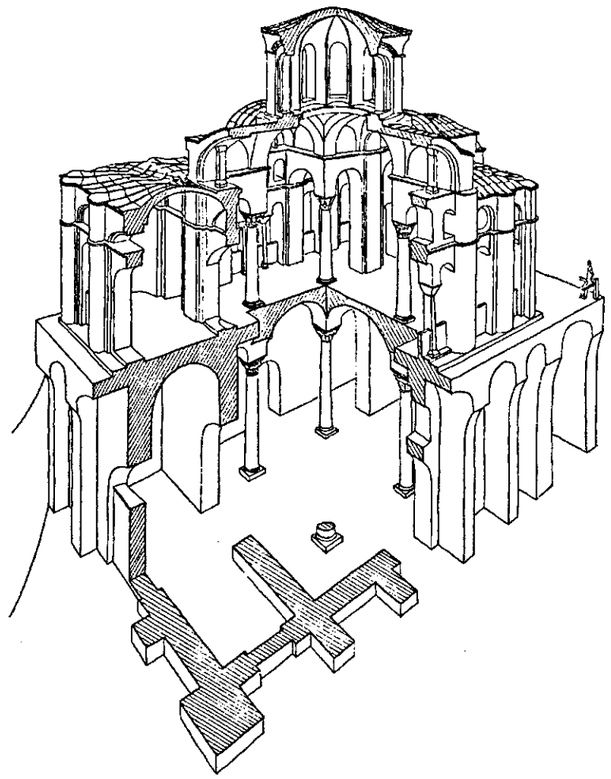
mosque that he founded was called Bodrum Camii, the Basement Mosque, because of the substructure beneath it. A stone minaret was erected at the southwest corner of the building.

The mosque was badly damaged by fire in 1784 and again in 1912. The mosque was then abandoned and remained in ruins until a program of restoration was undertaken by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in 1964–5. Another restoration in the 1980s converted the Rotunda into a subterranean shopping mall.

The Myrelaion (Figs. 90, 91) was built against the southeast wall of the Rotunda adjacent to the palace. It is a two-story structure: The church is on the same level as the terrace and the palace, and a substructure of almost identical dimensions stands beneath it. The church is entirely constructed of brick, while the substructure is of rough ashlar and brick. The purpose of the substructure was to create a platform for the church so that it stood at the same level as the palace. There was no internal communication between the church and its substructure, both of which had their own entrances.



90. Plan (Partly reconstructed) of the Myrelaion (from Ousterhout, based on Striker)



91. The Myrelaion, perspective section reconstruction facing northeast (from Striker)

The most distinctive aspect of the exterior is the array of large half-cylindrical buttresses that project from the west façade and the sides of the narthex and naos, articulating the internal bay division. A cross, formed by barrel-vaulted gables, is inscribed within the square naos, rising up from it. Above the intersection of the vault the dome sits on a high cylindrical drum, 5.50 meters in diameter and rising to a height of 3.15 meters, penetrated by eight round-headed windows separated by triangular projecting buttresses (Plate XXV).

At the east end, the main apse is flanked by the smaller apses of the pastophoria, all of them three-sided on the exterior. Each of the two side apses has a single roundheaded recessed window in the ground story, crowned with blind lunettes in the attic. These were originally very tall and narrow, measuring 2.90 by 0.60 meters, probably with marble screens rather than masonry forming the closure below the windows. The main apse originally had windows in each of its three faces, divided by mullions bearing capitals.

The present entrance to the mosque is through a single door in the west façade of the narthex. Three doors now open from the narthex into the naos, the central one leading into the nave and the other two into the side aisles. It is possible that the two side doors are Turkish additions, for the side aisles originally may have been blocked, possibly by low marble screens.

The interior plan comprised a rectangular narthex on the west, a square naos, and at the eastern end the bema flanked by the pastophoria.

The narthex is divided into three bays. The central bay is square in plan and covered by a shallow domical vault, rising only 0.47 meters over a span of 2.80 meters. The two side bays are rectangular and covered by groin vaults. The end walls of the side bays open into shallow niches the full width of the narthex.

The naos, excluding the bema and pastophoria, measures eight meters on a side. Inscribed in the square is a cross with arms four meters in width, aligned in the cardinal directions, dividing the naos into nine bays, of which those in the corners are the smallest. At the intersection of the crossarms, four piers, replacing the original columns, carry the superstructure, which consists of four barrel-vaulted gables that rise above the four corner bays. Pendentives make the transition from the four arches between the piers to the circular cornice of the eight-cusped drum that supports the melon dome, also divided into eight segments. On the east is the bema, its semicircular apse flanked by the smaller apsidal pastophoria – the prothesis and diakonikon – which communicate with it through doors between the eastern piers and the pilasters that frame the main apse. The pastophoria are covered by small domical vaults.

Aside from the pastophoria, the central bay of the narthex, and the dome, all of the vaults are rectangular in plan, covered by either groin or barrel vaults, with lunettes interpenetrating so deep that they meet at the crown. Compensation for the rise of the cross members of each vault is achieved by stilting the arch over the shorter side. Further compensation is required, since the lunettes in the gable zone do not rise to the full height of the barrel vaults that they penetrate, and this is achieved by having their ridge lines slope upward toward the center so that the penetrating lunettes have conical surfaces.

The church stands on a rectangular platform supported by the substructure beneath it. At the western end and along the sides, the gallery rests on corbels connected by barrel vaults, which rise from rectangular buttresses placed along the exterior walls of the substructure. The rectangular buttresses of the substructure are directly below the semicircular buttresses of the church. The platform is slightly larger than the exterior dimensions of the church, providing space for a gallery that extended around the building at floor level, with a protective railing along its periphery. On the western end, the gallery provided access from the palace terrace to the main entryway of the church. Along the two sides of the church, the gallery was only a meter wide, but to the east it opened into a terrace 5.5 meters in width. The terrace to the east of the church was originally supported by a north-south barrel vault rising from the buttresses of the substructure and a wall to the east.

The substructure is built of rough ashlar and brick, in contrast with the church, which is built entirely of brick. Access to the substructure was through round-arched doors in the center of both the north and south façades, the former now closed off. The door in the south façade is now approached by a modern stairway from the terrace above.

The door leads directly into the naos of the lower church, a rectangular hall 8 by 10.65 meters in plan, divided longitudinally into three aisles, the central one twice as wide as those on the sides. Four columns rise from the corners of a square in the center of the room, and they stand directly beneath the columns in the church above. Likewise, two walls projecting from the east wall of the substructure are in line with the columns supporting the bema walls of the church, just as walls projecting from the north and south support the walls of the narthex. At the same time, these columns and walls in the substructure carry a system of barrel vaults corresponding to the bay division of the church, wide vaults in the main cross-axis, narrower vaults in the aisles flanking the bema and in the corner chambers to the west. A door leads from the central axis of the naos into the narthex, a barrel-vaulted hall, 2.65 meters wide, that extends across the width of the building.

Barrel vaults intersect in the center of the square formed by the columns. Smaller barrel vaults parallel to the longitudinal axis cover the bays flanking the bema and the two corner bays to the west.

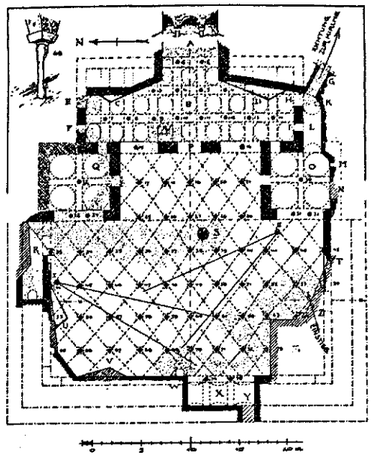
Excavation of the substructure revealed that it was converted into a funerary chapel late in the thirteenth century or early in the fourteenth. Multiple tomb chambers were found along the south wall of the naos and in the bema. The bema was decorated with frescoes, of which only one has survived. This is on the north side, where one can make out the lower portion of a panel depicting a female donor kneeling before a standing figure of the Virgin Hodegitria.

The Rotunda (Palace of Romanus Lecapenus)

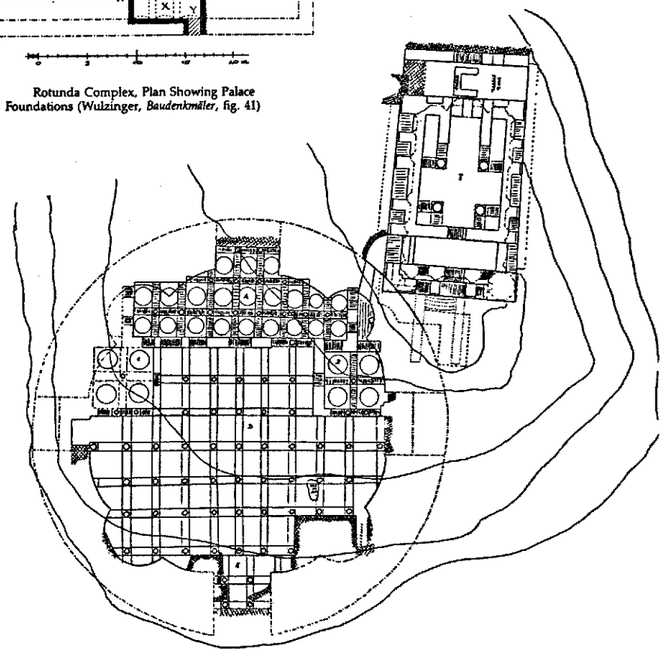
The emperor Romanus built his palace on the enormous fifth-century substructure known as the Rotunda (Fig. 92). The Rotunda was ideal for this purpose because of its strength and capaciousness and also because of its site, for it provided an unobstructed view of the Sea of Marmara. The church of the Myrelaion, a private imperial foundation, was built by Romanus as part of this palace, to which it communuicated directly.

This huge substructure was discovered by David Talbot Rice during his study of Bodrum Camii in 1930. During the restoration of 1964–5, the Rotunda was completely excavated and further studied by R. Naumann. Striker's description of the Rotunda is based on his observations during and after these excavations and on Naumann's preliminary report on his studies.

The Rotunda has an exterior diameter of 41.80 meters, an interior diameter of 29.60 meters, with walls 6.10 meters thick, now standing to a maximum height of 3.40 meters above the original floor level. This makes it the second largest structure of its kind remaining from the Roman period, surpassed only by the Pantheon in Rome, whose exterior diameter is 58 meters. The Rotunda is mainly built of finely worked ashlar blocks ranging from 1.20 to 1.59 meters in width, set in courses averaging 0.50 meters in height and held together in places by iron cramps. There are eight niches around the periphery of the interior, those along the cardinal directions rectangular in form and those along the diagonal



Rotunda Complex, Plan Showing Palace Foundations (Wulzinger, *Baudenkmäler*, fig. 41)



92. The Myrelaion, plan of Rotunda complex and church (from Striker)

axes semicircular. Doors open to the exterior in the outer walls of the north and south niches.

The façades of the north and south sides of the Rotunda are flat, the remainder circular. The north façade is the more elaborate, and Naumann considered this to be the principal entryway. A stylobate with two column bases in situ was unearthed in front of this façade, from which it was presumed that the

north entryway was preceded by a colonnaded portico. A flight of eight semicircular steps was discovered in front of the south entrance, where the terrain slopes down from north to south.

The Rotunda seems to have been in ruins when Romanus decided to build his palace on this site. Naumann's excavation led him to conclude that, in preparation for the construction of the palace, the original floor of the Rotunda was removed, after which the floor level was lowered and consolidated. The north and south doors were filled in, and the lower interior of the Rotunda was lined with a waterproof mortar to convert it into a cistern. The interior was then covered with vaulting carried by colonnades arrayed along the cardinal axes, forming a grid ten bays long from north to south and eleven bays from east to west. The western half of the interior and part of the eastern half was covered with cross-vaults supported by columns with reused capitals. This part of the Rotunda probably only carried the terrace in front of the palace. Most of the eastern half of the Rotunda became the substructure of the palace, whose plan is marked by heavy bearing walls of brick and rough ashlar, the same materials used in the substructure of the Myrelaion. The bays of the palace substructure were covered with domical vaults resting on strong arches.

The plan of the palace is evident from the vaulting pattern of its substructure. This was verified by Naumann's excavation of the foundations of the palace above the Rotunda. The principal room of the palace was a rectangular hall along the north–south axis, 21.75 meters long by 7.80 meters wide. To the west of this hall on the north and south there were two smaller wings, approximately square in plan, containing between them a courtyard delineated on its western side by a colonnade of six arches. The line of the western façade of the palace wings and their court corresponds almost exactly to the north-south axis of the Rotunda below. Although the major part of the palace rested on the vaulting created in the interior of the substructure, at its extremities its foundations were supported by the walls of the Rotunda itself. The Myrelaion was built up against the wall of the Rotunda, with its platform joining the southeast corner of the palace terrace.

During the excavations in 1964–5, a fragmentary sculpture in porphyry was found at the northeast exterior of the Rotunda. As noted earlier, this proved to be part of the missing foot of one of the four Caesars that now stand outside the southwest corner of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice.

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus finally became sole emperor in 945, after the overthrow of Stephen and Constantine Lecapenus. During the remaining fourteen years of his reign, his forces won several notable victories against the Arabs under the leadership of two brilliant Armenian generals, Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimisces, both of whom would in turn succeed to the throne of Byzantium.

Constantine devoted much of his time to scholarship, writing two works that are among the most importanty sources for the history of medieval Byzantium, namely, *The Imperial Administration* and *The Book of Ceremonies.*

The Great Palace

The Great Palace of Byzantium apparently reached its height at this time, as evidenced by the writings of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Liutprand of

Cremona. One of the structures in the palace described by Liutprand is the state dining hall known as the Dekanneacubita, the Hall of the Nineteen Couches, where he was the guest of Constantine Porphyrogenitus:

> There is a palace near the Hippodrome looking northwards, of wondrous height and beauty, known as the Dekanneacubita, since . . . on the day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ nineteen places are laid at the table. On this day the Emperor and his guests do not sit at dinner in the usual manner but recline on couches; and all the dishes are served in vessels not of silver but of gold. After the meal fruit is brought on in three golden bowls, too heavy for men to lift. Through openings in the ceilings there hang three ropes, covered with gilded leather, with golden rings at their ends. To these rings are attached the handles projecting from the bowls and, with the help of four or five men standing below, the huge vessels are swung on the table and removed again in the same manner.[5]

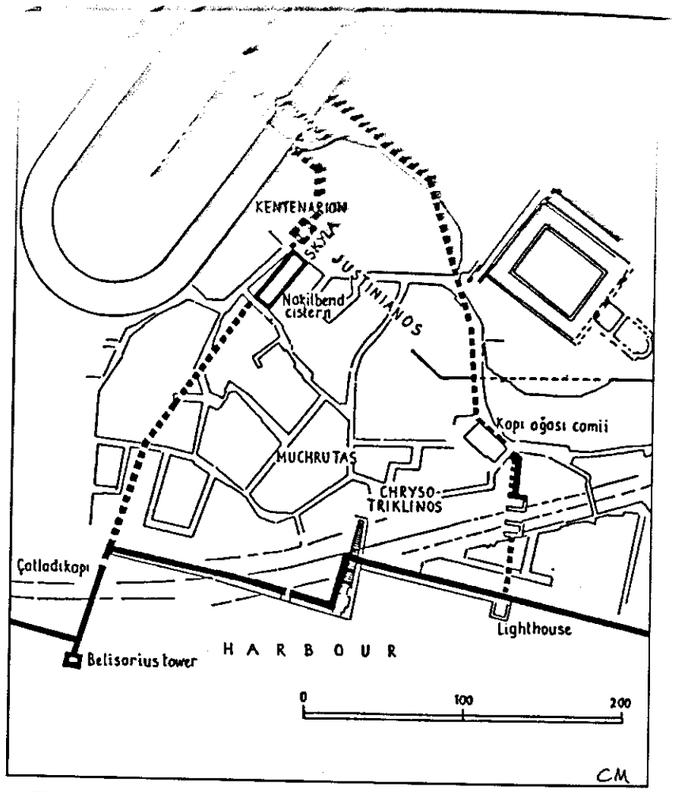
Constantine died on 19 November 959 and was succeeded by his son Romanus II, who three years before had scandalized Byzantium by marrying a beautiful courtesan named Theophano, the daughter of a tavern keeper. Theophano bore Romanus two sons, Basil and Constantine, the first born in 958 and the second in 960, as well as a daughter Anna, born in 963. Both of the boys were crowned as co-emperors when they were infants.

At the beginning of his reign, Romanus appointed Nicephorus Phocas as commander-in-chief of the imperial armed forces. Nicephorus mounted an expedition against the Saracens on Crete, and on 7 March 961 he captured their capital at Candia (Heraklion), ending 134 years of Arab rule on the island. Early the following year he led a lightning offensive across the Cilician plain in southeastern Asia Minor, "capturing fifty-five walled towns from the Arabs in twenty-two days," according to a Byzantine chronicler. He was about to embark on a renewed offensive the following spring, but it was cancelled when news arrived that Romanus had been killed in a riding accident on 15 March 963.

Nicephorus rushed back to Constantinople, and on 16 August 963 he entered the city in triumph through the Golden Gate, riding in procession to Hagia Sophia. There the patriarch Polyeuctus crowned him as Nicephorus II (r. 963–9), with the two boy co-emperors Basil and Constantine seated on thrones flanking his own. Then on 20 September Nicephorus was married to Theophano.

Nicephorus mounted a new campaign against the Saracens in 965, when he took Tarsus, using that as a base to reconqueror Cyprus. Then in 969 he recaptured Antioch, which had been in Arab hands for 332 years, whereupon he was hailed as "the Pale Death of the Saracens."

Theophano had by then become the mistress of the general John Tzimisces, a cousin of Nicephorus. He and Theophano plotted to do away with Nicephorus, and on the night of 10 December 969 Tzimisces and his supporters killed the emperor while he slept in the Palace of the Boukoleon. Theophano, who had expected to marry Tzimisces, was instead confined to a convent on Prote. The



93. The Wall of Nicephorus II Phocas (from Mango)

patriarch Polyeuctus then crowned Tzimisces as John I (r. 969–76) on Christmas Day 969.

The Wall of Nicephorus II Phocas

Cyril Mango has pointed out a defence wall (Fig. 93) on the Marmara slope of the First Hill built by Nicephorus Phocas. Nicephorus evidently felt that the Great Palace was vulnerable to attacks from within the city, and so he surrounded it with a defence wall that extended in from the sea walls on either side of the Boukoleon, the seaside palace on the Marmara shore.

According to Mango, the eastern terminus of the wall was the Pharos, or Lighthouse. This has been identified as the tower in the Marmara sea walls just to the east of the ruined façade of the Boukoleon Palace. From there the wall extended inland to the north and then curved around to the northwest as far as the northern side of the Kathisma, the imperial loge in the Hippodrome, which was apparently situated opposite the masonry obelisk that still stands on the spina



of the racecourse near its south end. Then, starting on the other side of the Kathisma, the wall extended southeast to reach the Marmara shore at an angle to the sea walls, terminating in the so-called Tower of Belisarius, now vanished. The Tower of Belisarius stood about 275 meters to the west of the lighthouse tower along the shore. The sea wall between them did not run in a straight line but bent through two successive right angles interspersed with straight sections, the second of which includes the façade of the Palace of the Boukoleon. The short stretch of transverse wall between these two sections has been found to contain a monumental stairway, whose huge vaults can still be seen. About 25 meters to the west of this, there is a gateway in the westernmost of the two straight sections of wall. This has been identified as the Maritime Gate, an entrance to the Great Palace from the Marmara shore. The gateway was discovered in 1919 by Ernest Mamboury, who unearthed an inscription mentioning an emperor named Constantine. Mango points out that the portal was built up in two phases, the second of which included considerable reused material.

Mango tentatively ascribes the Maritime Gate to Constantine VII. He dates phase 1 of this stretch of sea wall to Justinian and phase 2 to Theophilus. All that survives of the Wall of Nicephorus Phocas is a stretch about twenty-four meters long just inside the railway tracks, on a line leading inland from the lighthouse tower. As Mango points out, "At its north end it forms an obtuse angle that may still be seen at the base of the garden wall of the Kapı Ağası mosque . . . , the masonry facing, consisting (where it survives) of five courses of fairly small, squared stone blocks alternating with five courses of brick."[6]

The usurper John I Tzimisces sought to gain legitimacy by wedding the princess Theodora, sister of the late Romanus II, bringing her back from the convent where she had been exiled by Theophano. They were duly married in Hagia Sophia in November 971 by the new patriarch, Basil.

John Tzimisces spent the last five years of his life in a series of brilliant campaigns, beginning with his defeat of Prince Svyatoslav of Kiev in 972. Then in 975 he set off on a campaign in the East, conquering Palestine, Syria, and the Lebanon – the first Byzantine emperor since Heracleius to set foot in this region. But later that year he became seriously ill and was forced to return to Constantinople, where he died on 11 January 976.

The throne passed to Basil II (r. 976–1025), who was eldest son of the late Romanus II and only seventeen. He was crowned as senior Augustus, while his fourteen-year-old brother Constantine was named co-emperor. Michael Psellus, writing in his *Chronographia,* contrasts the character of the two brothers and shows how it was reflected in the nature of their joint rule:

> Both princes had seen the last of their boyhood days, but their interests lay far apart, for whereas Basil, the elder of the two, always gave an impression of alertness, intelligence and thoughtfulness, his brother was to all appearances apathetic, passing a lazy existence, and devoted to a life of luxury. It was natural, therefore, that they should abandon the idea of a diarchy. By mutual consent all real power was vested in Basil, and Constantine was associated with him as emperor in name

only it was a wise decision, for if the Empire was to be well governed it was essential that the older and more experienced brother should inherit the highest position in the state."

Basil II is one of the very few Byzantine emperors who never married, devoting all of his long and illustrious reign to the affairs of his empire, particularly to defending it against the enemies who were attacking it on all sides. As Michael Psellus writes of him in this regard, "His ambition, in fact, was to purge the Empire completely of all the barbarians who encircle us and lay siege to our borders, both in the east and in the west."

Basil's reign was troubled by two revolts led by Bardas Sclerus, brother-in-law of the late emperor John I Tzimisces, the first in 979 and the second in 986–9, both of which were put down. Basil was aided in the second of these struggles by Prince Vladimir of Kiev, to whom he gave his sister Anna in marriage, thus establishing the first dynastic link between Byzantium and Russia. Vladimir sent a fleet to Constantinople early in 989 with a force of 8,000 Varangians, Russianized Norsemen, who afterward formed the emperor's bodyguard. The Varangian bodyguard continued in existence up until at least the twelfth century, by which time it included mercenaries from Scandanavia, Germany, and England as well as Russia.

In 986 Basil led an army against the Bulgars, who had overrun Greece under Tsar Samuel. Samuel ambushed the imperial army and almost wiped it out, though Basil escaped to fight another day, vowing to take revenge. Basil spent the next quarter of a century campaigning against the Bulgars. The turning point of this long struggle came in 1014, when his army decisively defeated the Bulgars, capturing some 15,000 of them, although Samuel himself escaped. Basil blinded all of his captives except for one in every hundred, whom he left with one eye each so that they could lead their comrades home. The long line of mutilated Bulgars finally reached the camp of Samuel, who was so shocked by the sight that he dropped dead of apoplexy. Nevertheless, the Bulgars fought on for another four years before they surrendered. Thenceforth Basil was known as Bulgaroctonos, the Bulgar Slayer.

Basil campaigned in northwestern Asia Minor in 1021, annexing Georgia and the Armenian kingdom of Ani that same year. This was to be his last campaign, and after a short illness he died on 15 December 1025.

Basil was succeeded by his brother Constantine VIII (r. 1025–8), who was sixty-five when he came to the throne. Although he had been co-emperor for nearly half a century, he had played little part in the governing of the empire, spending his time in idle enjoyments. Michael Psellus describes Constantine's character and tells of how he enjoyed his favorite pastimes:

> Constantine was at this time in his seventieth year [actually his sixty-sixth], a person of decidedly effeminate character with but one great object in life – to enjoy himself to the full. Since he inherited a treasury crammed with money, he was able to follow his natural inclination, and the new ruler devoted himself to a life of luxury. . . .
>
> He was a man of enormous size. His constitution, moreover, was more than usually robust, and his digestive powers were extraordinary, with a stomach naturally adapted to assimilate all kinds of food with ease. . . . Being dominated by his gluttony and sexual passions, he became afflicted with arthritis. . . .
>
> For the theater and horse-racing he had an absolute obsession. To Constantine these things were a matter of real concern, as he changed horses, harnessed fresh mounts, and anxiously kept his eye on the starting points in the arena. The *gymnopodia* [a form of gladiatorial single combat], long ago neglected, was revived in his reign. He reintroduced it into the theater, not content with the emperor's normal role of spectator, but himself appearing as a combatant, with opponents. . . . The theater also attracted him, and no less the chase.[8]

Constantine's wife Helena had borne him three children, all girls, Eudocia in 977, Zoe in 978, and Theodora in 980. As Constantine felt his end approaching, he began looking for a suitable candidate to marry his daughter Zoe, for he had chosen her to be the one through whom the Macedonian dynasty would continue, since her older sister Eudocia had become a nun. Psellus describes Zoe thus: "The second daughter, whom I saw in her extreme old age, was very regal in her ways, a woman of great beauty, most imposing in her manner and commanding respect." As her consort, the dying Constantine finally chose a distant relative, Romanus Argyrus, who was sixty. Romanus had been happily married for forty years, but Constantine threatened him with blinding if he did not consent to marry Zoe, and his wife was forced to enter a convent so that he would be free to remarry. Thereupon Romanus was married to Zoe, who was then fifty. Constantine died three days later, on 10 November 1028. He was laid to rest in the Church of the Holy Apostles, the last emperor to be buried there.

The new emperor ascended the throne as Romanus III (r. 1028–34). He immediately set out to perform his duty of perpetuating the imperial line, although, as Psellus writes, Romanus intended to create his own dynasty rather than just continue that of his predecessor:

> Having been judged worthy of the crown, in preference to all others, Romanus deceived himself that he would reign for many years, and leave to succeed him a family destined to inherit the throne for many generations. Apparently it did not occur to him that Constantine's daughter, with whom he lived after his acclamation was too old to conceive and already barren. Even in the face of natural incapacity, he clung even more firmly to his ambitions, led on by his own faith in the future. Hence he ignored the physical prerequisite for conception. Nevertheless, he did have recourse to the specialists who deal with sexual disorders and claim the ability either to induce or cure sterility. He submitted himself to treatment with ointments and massage, and he enjoined his wife to do likewise. In fact, she went even further: she was introduced to most of the magical practices, fastening little pebbles to her body, hanging charms about her, wearing chains, decking herself out with the rest of the nonsense. As their hopes were never

realized, the emperor at last gave up in despair and paid less attention to Zoe. In truth, his desires were rather dulled and his bodily powers exhausted, for he was more than twenty years older [actually only ten] than she was.[9]

During the third year of his reign, Romanus decided to build a great church and monastery dedicated to the Theotokos Peribleptos, the "Celebrated Mother of God," choosing a site on the Seventh Hill. Michael Psellus writes of the extraordinary lengths to which Romanus went to erect and embellish his new church, neglecting all of the other needs of the empire for this single goal:

> Yet he neglected all this, and in order that his church might surpass all others in beauty, he reduced everything else to ruin. To tell the truth, he was mad on the work. He could scarcely tear himself away from it. So he surrounded the place with all the paraphernalia of a court, set up thrones there, adorned it with sceptres, hung up purple cloth, and spent the greater part of a year in this church, glorying in the beauty of it and beaming with pleasure.[10]

Romanus had by now lost interest in Zoe and took a mistress. Zoe herself thereupon took a lover, a youth named Michael the Paphlagonian, to whom she had been introduced by one of his brothers, the eunuch John the Orphanotrophus ("Guardian of the Orphans"). Soon afterward Romanus became ill, and when taking a therapeutic swim in the palace baths, he drowned, on the night of 11 April 1034. Psellus remarks that everyone was convinced that Romanus had been murdered by the empress and her lover. In any event, Zoe and Michael were married in a chapel of the Great Palace the following morning, while the body of Romanus still lay uncovered beside the pool in which he had drowned. The patriarch crowned Zoe's new husband as Michael IV (r. 1034–41). Later that day Romanus was buried in the church of the Peribleptos.

The Church of the Peribleptos

The church of the Peribleptos was restored less than half a century later by the emperor Nicephorus III Botaneiates, who was buried there when he died in 1081. The church was taken over by the Latins in 1206, two years after their capture of Constantinople. It reverted to the Byzantines in 1261, when the city was recaptured by Michael VIII Palaeologus, who restored the church. The church is described by Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who in 1403 passed through Constantinople on an embassy from Henry III of Castile to Tamerlane. Clavijo reports that within the church he saw the tombstone of Romanus as well as that of another emperor, presumably Nicephorus Botaneiates.

The tradition heretofore generally accepted is that the church remained in the hands of the Greeks until 1643, when it was given to the Armenians by Sultan Ibrahim the Mad under the influence of a favorite Armenian concubine.

(This lady's name was Şeker Pare, or Piece of Sugar, and she is said to have weighed in at more than three hundred pounds.) This story, however, appears to be apocryphal, for in the recently published work of the Armenian traveller Simeon of Zamosc, who visited the city in 1608, it is recorded that the church was already in the hands of the Armenians and that it served as the cathedral of the Armenian patriarch. Current opinion is that the Peribleptos was given to the Armenians in 1458 by Sultan Mehmet II as their patriarchal church. The Armenians rededicated the church to St. George (Surp Kevork), and it served as their patriarchate until 1643–4, when it was supplanted by the church of Surp Asdvadzadzin in Kumkapı. The church was destroyed by fire in 1782 and again in 1872, after which the present basilica of Surp Kevork was built on its ruins. It is known to the Turks as Sulu Manastir, the Watery Monastery, because of the ancient *hagiasma,* or holy well, in the courtyard of the church.

The substructures of the Peribleptos were surveyed in 1997–8 under the auspices of the Istanbul Rescue Archaeological Survey, directed by Ken Dark and Ferudun Özgümüş. The surveyors suggest that the superstructure had the same plan as the substructure and that the Peribleptos was a cross-in-square church with five apses, which agrees with the description by Clavijo. The church was preceded on the west by a narthex of three bays. A single doorway led into the nave, where four columns at the corners of a square supported the dome over the crossing, with small cupolas over the corner bays. Side chambers on the northeast and southeast may have served as tombs. A substructure of the same type uncovered across the side street to the east is believed to have been part of the monastery of the Peribleptos.

∽

Michael IV appears to have been an epileptic, according to the account of Michael Psellus, and he also seems to have suffered from edema. As the emperor's health declined, his brother John the Orphanotrophus, who served as prime minister, made plans to keep his family in control of the throne, and so he introduced Zoe to his nephew Michael. This young man was known as Michael Calaphates, the Caulker, after his father's original profession. Zoe adopted him as her son, whereupon the emperor Michael raised him to the rank of Caesar.

Michael IV died on 10 December 1041, and immediately after his funeral John the Orphanotrophus asked Zoe to name Michael Calaphates as his successor. Zoe readily agreed, and so on 13 December 1041 her adopted son was crowned as Michael V (r. 1041–2).

The new emperor was at first subservient to Zoe, behaving deferentially to her whenever they appeared in public. By then he had come under the control of his uncle Constantine, whom he appointed to the post of grand domestic. Constantine had always been jealous of his brother John, and now he used his influence with the emperor to have the Orphanotrophus exiled. Michael decided to get rid of Zoe too, so that he could rule as sole emperor. Thus, on 18 April 1042 Zoe was forced into a convent on the island of Prinkipo (Büyükada), accepting her fate without protest.

[illegible] the news, and they stormed [illegible] beloved empress. [illegible] by the imperial troops. [illegible] the defenders and broke into the palace. [illegible] refuge in the Church of St. John of Stoudios. [illegible] sanctuary and dragged the emperor and his uncle to the house outside the church, where the two of them had their eyes [illegible] exile, never to return.

Then on 21 April 1042 Zoe was raised to the throne, along with her younger sister Theodora, who fifteen years before had been betrothed to and crowned by Constantine VIII. Zoe was then [illegible] Theodora about two years younger, but neither of them looked or acted her age, according to Psellus:

> The elder was naturally more mature, although she was not strikingly tall. Her eyes were large, set wide apart, with [illegible] nose was inclined to be aquiline, without really [illegible] golden hair, and her whole body [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Constantine was then [illegible] Zoe was [illegible] Theodora [illegible] younger, but neither of them looked or acted her age, according to Psellus:

> The elder was naturally more mature, although she was not strikingly tall. Her eyes were large, set wide apart, with [illegible] nose was inclined to be aquiline, without really [illegible] golden hair, and her whole body [

The Church of St. George of the Mangana

Psellus writes of Constantine's extravagances, of which he says the greatest was the emperor's building of the Church of St. George of the Mangana:

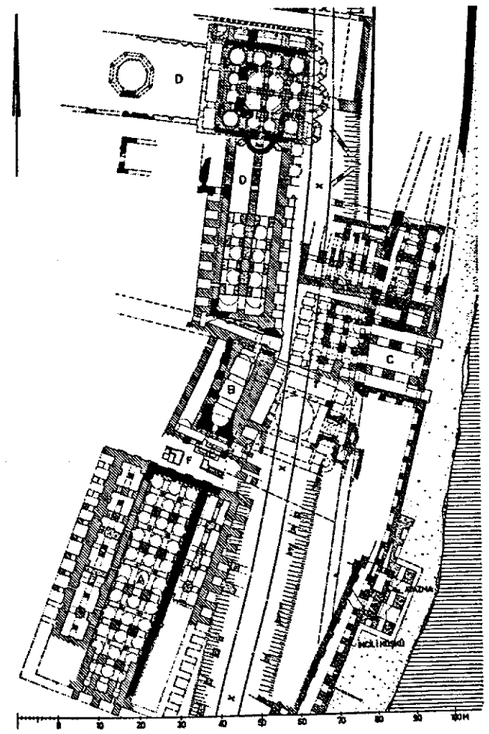
> In this catalogue of the emperor's foolish excesses I now come to the worst example of all – the building of the Church of St. George the Martyr. . . . The whole conception was on a magnificent and lofty scale. The edifice itself was decorated with golden stars throughout, like the vault of heaven, but whereas the real heaven is adorned with golden stars only at intervals, the surface of this one was entirely covered with gold, issuing forth from its center as if in a never-ending stream. On all sides there were buildings, some completely, others half-surrounded by cloisters. The ground everywhere was leveled like a race-course, stretching farther than the eye could see, its bounds out of sight. Then came a second circle of buildings, bigger than the first, and lawns full of flowers, some on the circumference, others down the center. There were fountains which filled basins of water, gardens came hanging, others sloping down to the level ground, a path that was beautiful beyond description. To criticize the enormous size of the church was impossible, so dazzling was its loveliness. Beauty pervaded every part of the vast creation, so that one could only wish it were even greater, and its graciousness spread over an area still wider. And as for the lawns that were bounded by the outer wall, they were so numerous that it was difficult to see them in one sweeping glance; even the mind could scarcely grasp their extent.[14]

The Mangana quarter was on the Marmara slope of the First Hill below the acropolis, an area now part of the lower precincts of the Ottoman palace of Topkapı Sarayı, presently occupied by the Turkish military and thus off-limits to civilians. The seaward side of the site was cut through by the railway line in 1871, which destroyed parts of the structures and left others isolated along the present shore road, where they can be seen built into the Byzantine sea walls. During the Allied occupation of Istanbul after World War I, this area was given over to the garrison of the French Army, who in 1922, while looking for a place to store their wine, unearthed the ruins of the church of St. George of the Mangana along with other structures, including a section of the Great Palace. The archaeologist R. Demangel was called in to supervise the excavation, the findings of which he and Ernest Mamboury published in 1939.

Several periods of foundation walls have been identified in the structures unearthed in this excavation, with the majority from the eleventh century. The extensive substructures (Fig. 94) have been identified, with varying degrees of certainty, as those the Palace of Mangana, the Church and Monastery of St. George of the Mangana, the Church of the Panachrantos, and the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos. Robert Ousterhout notes that the majority of the foundation walls date to the eleventh century, and he writes thus of the foundation walls of the church of St. George and their relation to its plan:

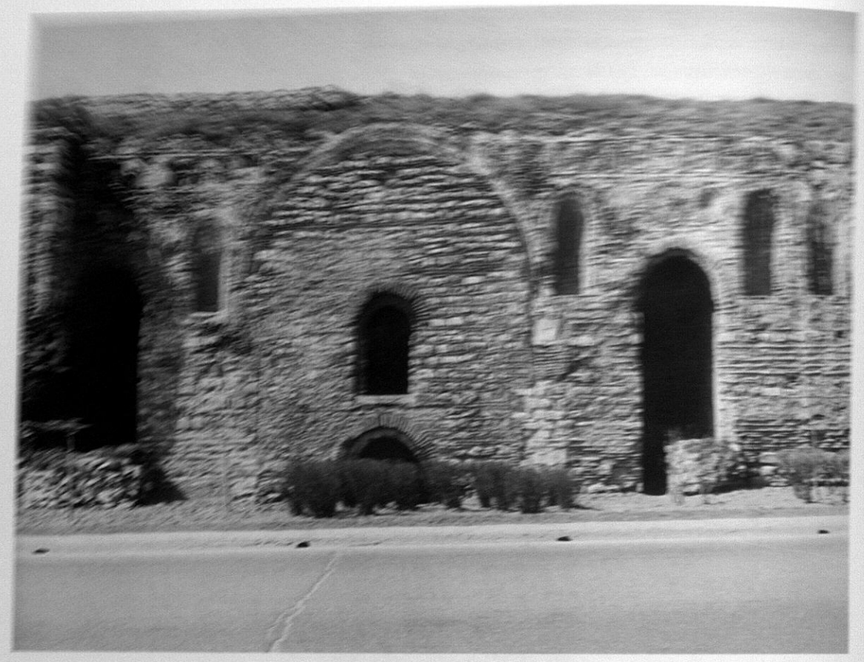
> The meagre remains of the superstructure of the church of St. George indicate a general relationship between the substructure and the form of the church. The substructure is divided into a grid of vaulted compartments, with four domical vaults below the area of the naos, and the areas below the ambulatory are similarly divided. To the south, some walls of a large building, presumably the palace, are indicated.[15]

The walls of the Mangana substructures are built in the so-called "recessed-brick" technique that was identified by Cyril Mango and that, according to



A. Palace
B. Monastery of the Theotokos Panachrantos
C. Monastery of Christ Philanthropos
D. Monastery of Saint George

94. Plan of foundations and substructures in the Mangana region (from Müller-Weiner)



95. The Monastery of Christ Philanthropos

Robert Ousterhout, seems to have originated in Constantinople in the second half of the tenth century.

The So-called Monastery of Christ Philanthropos

The so-called Monastery of Christ Philanthropos (Fig. 95) is the structure just to the east of the monastery of St. George of the Mangana, from which it is separated by a railway line. Demangel's identification of the Philanthropos was based on the fact that it is close to a famous *hagiasma* with which that monastery was associated as late as the nineteenth century. This sacred spring is less than 50 meters to the south along the sea walls, in the substructure of the Incili Kiosk, a marble pavilion erected by Murad III. Robert Ousterhout, in a private communication with the authors, stated that "the so-called Philanthropos substructure is Middle Byzantine in date."

Since Constantine died without a legal heir, "supreme power passed into the hands of Theodora," as Psellus writes. Theodora was about seventy-five when she began her last reign, which lasted for only about eighteen months. Despite her advanced years, she showed few signs of her age, taking full charge of the government. Nevertheless, there was unanimous agreement that she should

appoint a man as her successor; but as long as she remained in good health she refused to do so. Toward the end of August 1056, Theodora was suddenly stricken by an abdominal illness that caused her severe pain, and it was soon apparent that her end was near. Her councillors then put forward their candidate for emperor, an aged civil servant named Michael Bringas, whom Theodora accepted as her successor. She died that same day, whereupon Bringas succeeded as Michael VI.

Theodora was the last of the Macedonian house, the dynasty that had ruled Byzantium for 189 years, beginning with her great-great-great-grandfather Basil I. It was the end of an age in which Byzantium had been reestablished as the empire beyond compare, its boundaries stretching from Persia to the Adriatic and from the Danube to the Aegean isles, the imperial capital at Constantinople emerging from the darkness of the early Middle Ages in a renaissance of classical culture.

The reign of Michael VI lasted less than a year. During the spring of 1057, the general staff of the army decided that they would overthrow him in favor of one of their own circle. The commander-in-chief, Isaac Comnenus, was the obvious choice, and the army in Asia Minor proclaimed him as emperor on 8 June 1057. When news of this reached Constantinople, the senate forced Michael VI to abdicate. He fled to Hagia Sophia for sanctuary and was then allowed to retire to a monastery, where he died soon afterward.

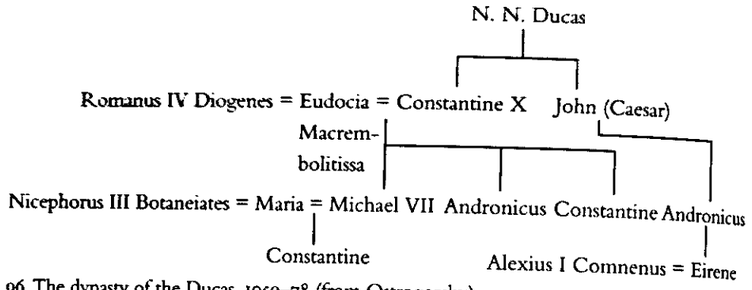
Isaac I Comnenus (r. 1057–59) entered Constantinople at the head of his army on 1 September 1057 and received an enthusiastic welcome. In the words of Michael Psellus,

> All of the populace of the city turned out to honor him. Some brought lighted torches, as though he were God himself. Others sprinkled sweet perfumes over him. Everyone in his own peculiar way tried to please him. Without exception the people treated the occasion as a festal day. There was dancing and rejoicing everywhere . . . in all my life I have never seen such splendor.[16]

Isaac immediately began a complete reform of the government with the goal of restoring the neglected armed forces. He successfully defended the empire's frontiers in both Asia and Europe; he held the Magyars at bay and led a successful expedition against the Patzinaks, a nomadic people from the plains of southern Russia, who crossed the Danube in 1059. But that was to be his last campaign, for late in that year he caught cold while out hunting and came down with pneumonia, from which he never recovered.

During his last days, Isaac considered the question of his successor, the likeliest candidate being his brother John. But the landowning military aristocracy persuaded him to pass over John and choose one of their own, Constantine Ducas. Ducas was crowned on 23 November as Constantine X (r. 1059–67) (Fig. 96). Isaac then retired to the monastery of the Studion, where he died the following year.

After Isaac's death, his brother John Comnenus retired into obscurity, along with his wife Anna Dalassena and their eight children. After John died, *c.* 1067, Anna made every effort to have her family regain the throne from the Ducas clan, and her three sons – Manuel, Isaac, and Alexius – all became generals.



96. The dynasty of the Ducas, 1059–78 (from Ostrogorsky)

When Constantine X Ducas came to the throne, he was married to his second wife, Eudocia Makrembolitissa, described by Psellus as "a woman of great spirit and exceptional beauty," who bore him seven children. Constantine proved to be completely ineffective as an emperor. He neglected the armed forces, hired unreliable foreign mercenaries, and allowed the bureaucracy to become as bloated and corrupt as it had been before the reforms of Isaac Comnenus.

The government and military were seriously weakened, and at a time when the empire was facing great danger from new and powerful enemies. The Normans under Roger Guiscard had overrun southern Italy, while the Selçuk Turks had conquered Persia and penetrated into Asia Minor, setting the stage for their subsequent conquest of the subcontinent.

Constantine became seriously ill late in 1067, and as his health failed he declared that his wife Eudocia should succeed him to the throne with the rank of autocrator, with their sixteen-year-old son Michael as co-emperor. Constantine also named his brother, the Caesar John Ducas, as guardian of Michael and his other children. Constantine died in May 1067.

Thus Eudocia Makrembolitissa (r. 1067) was raised to the throne, though as autocrator rather than Augusta, and her son Michael became the nominal co-emperor. Eudocia ruled only until the end of 1067, by which time she had arranged to marry the general Romanus Diogenes, who had been exiled by her late husband Constantine. After his return to Constantinople, they were married on 1 January 1068, and on that same day he was crowned as the emperor Romanus IV (r. 1068–71).

Romanus immediately reorganized the armed forces to take action against the Selçuks. Then in the summer of 1071 he set out on what he he thought would be a campaign that would drive the Turks back, but on 26 August his army was virtually annihilated by the Selçuk sultan Alp Arslan at Manzikirt in far eastern Anatolia. Romanus was captured by Alp Arslan and then released after agreeing to the sultan's terms, which were that the empire would cede its southeastern provinces to the Selçuks and pay a large annual indemnity. That same year the Normans took the last remining Byzantine possession in Italy, and it looked as if the empire would soon be overrun on both its western and eastern frontiers.

When news of the catastrophe at Manzikirt reached Constantinople, and before Romanus could return to the capital, the Caesar John Ducas took control

of the government. He then had his nephew Michael Ducas proclaimed as sole emperor, while he sent the empress Eudocia into exile, along with the late emperor Isaac's sister-in-law, Anna Dalassena. The patriarch John Xiphilinus crowned the new emperor as Michael VII (r. 1071–78) in Hagia Sophia on 24 October 1071.

Meanwhile Romanus had gathered a force to regain his throne, but he was eventually captured and blinded, then exiled to a monastery on the island of Prote, where he died on 4 August 1072.

Soon after Michael VII Ducas came to the throne, he married the princess Martha, daughter of King Bagrat IV of Georgia. She changed her name to Maria and was popularly known as Maria of Alania, on the mistaken notion that she was an Alanian princess. Their marriage produced only one child, a son named Constantine.

Michael ruled until the spring of 1078, when he was overthrown by the general Nicephorus Botaneiates. Michael was allowed to retire as a monk to the monastery of the Studion, where he lived on for another twelve years, while his wife Maria had her marriage annulled and took refuge in a convent with her son Constantine. Botaneiates led his troops into Constantinople on 24 March 1078, and on that same day he was crowned in Hagia Sophia as the emperor Nicephorus III (r. 1078–81).

Nicephorus was seventy-eight when he became emperor. Since he was a childless widower, he sought to strengthen his hold on the throne by proposing marriage to Maria of Alania. Maria agreed, hoping to give her son Constantine an opportunity to succeed to the throne. But after their marriage Nicephorus refused to recognize Constantine as his heir, and so Maria began to conspire with Alexius Comnenus, son of Anna Dalasenna. Alexius was appointed commander-in-chief of the army in the West, and then in 1078 he married Irene Ducaina, granddaughter of the Caesar John Ducas, thus forming a powerful alliance between the Comnenus and Ducas families.

When Alexius made a move to seize the throne in 1072 he had the support of John Ducas. On 1 April of that year, Ducas bribed the German mercenaries guarding the gates of Constantinople to permit the entry of Alexius and his troops, who quickly seized control of the city. Nicephorus Botaneiates abdicated and was forced to retire to the Peribleptos monastery, where he died soon afterwards.

The new emperor was crowned on 4 April as Alexius I (1081–1118), and his descendants would rule the empire for the next century. Thus a new dynasty came to power in Byzantium, one that would rival the Macedonian imperial line in its accomplishments. But in the four decades that had passed since the end of the Macedonian era, the empire had come to the brink of disaster, and the new dynasty emerged at a time when the very existence of Byzantium was gravely threatened.

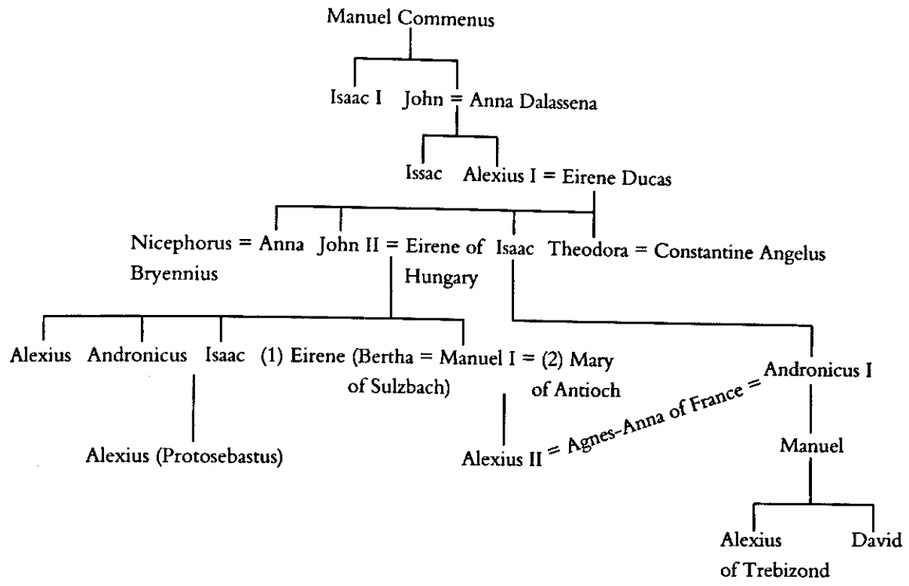
10

THE COMNENUS DYNASTY

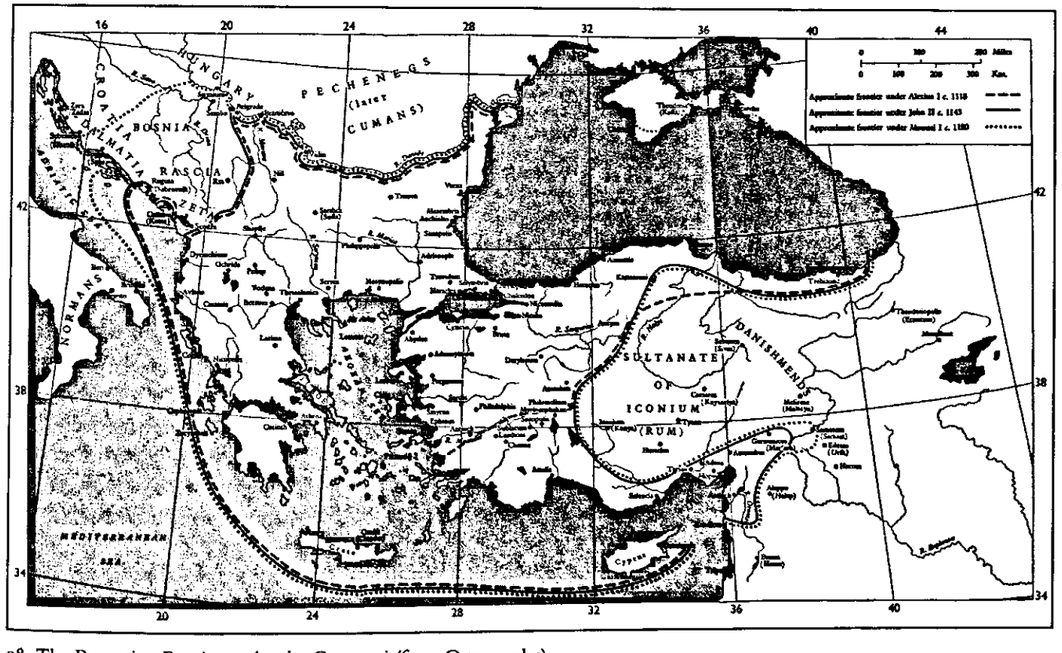
The Comnenus dynasty (Fig. 97) came to power at a time of great crisis, when the empire was gravely threatened from both the east and the west, and the emperors of this line valiantly pushed back the invaders, though permanently losing most of eastern Asia Minor and the last Byzantine footholds in Italy, Sicily, and the Crimea (Fig. 98). The renaissance that had begun under the Macedonian dynasty continued under the Comneni, as evidenced by the architectural heritage that remains as a monument to their rule in the city, including some of its finest extant Byzantine churches. But during their time, the forces were gathering that would eventually destroy the empire, and within two years after the passing of the last of the Comnenus emperors, Byzantium would experience the greatest disaster in its history to date.

Alexius I Comnenus was about twenty-four when he came to the throne, while his wife Eirene was not yet fifteen. He briefly thought of strengthening his claim to the throne by divorcing Eirene and marrying Maria of Alania, the wife of his two predecessors. But he relented before the opposition of the Ducas family, who included the patriarch Cosmas. Since Alexius as yet had no sons, he named as his heir Constantine Ducas, the young son of Maria and the late Michael VII. Constantine lost his status as heir to the throne after the birth of the future John II, first son of Alexius and Eirene, who was born in 1087 and crowned co-emperor the following year. Eirene eventually bore Alexius two more sons, Andronicus and Isaac, and two daughters, Anna and Theodora. Anna, who was born in 1083, would later write the history of her father's reign in the *Alexiad,* the finest work of Byzantine history since the *Wars* of Procopius.

At the outset of his reign, Alexius raised his mother, Anna Dalassena, to the rank of Augusta. Anna was the power behind the throne from then until her retirement in 1100. She spent the last years of her life in the convent of the church of Christ Pantepoptes, which she had founded on the summit of the Fourth Hill and where she died in 1105.



97. The dynasty of the Comneni, 1081–1185 (from Ostrogorsky)



98. The Byzantine Empire under the Comneni (from Ostrogorsky)



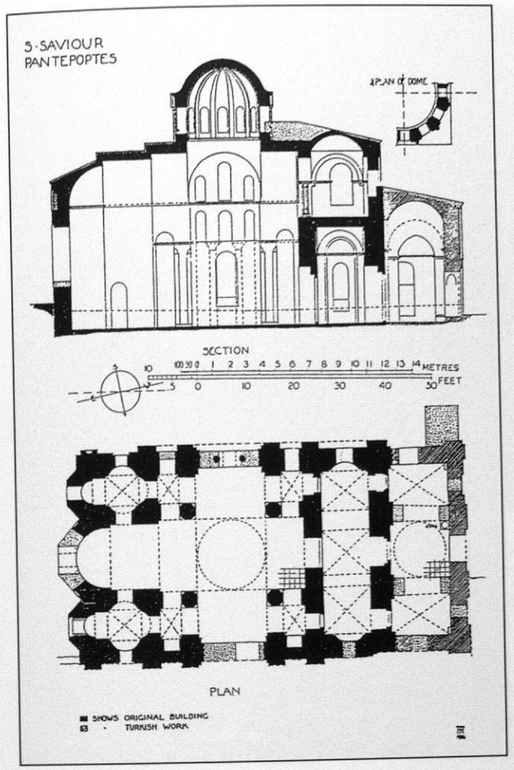
99. The Church of Christ Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii) (print by Paspates, *c.* 1876)

The Church of Christ Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii)

The Church of Christ Pantepoptes, Christ the All-Seeing (Fig. 99, Plate XXVI) was founded by Anna Dalassena sometime before 1087. The church was converted into a mosque almost immediately after the Turkish Conquest in 1453. It served for a time as the *imaret,* or public kitchen, of the nearby Fatih Camii, the Mosque of Mehmet the Conqueror, and thenceforth it was known as Eski Imaret Camii. A minaret was erected at the southwest corner of the mosque, but now only its foundation remains.

The exterior is very charming, and the fabric is in good condition, though it is closely hemmed in by the surrounding houses. The walls are of brick alternating with courses of stone. It is a very characteristic Byzantine church of the eleventh century, with its dome carried on a twelve-sided drum and its decorative brickwork in the form of blind niches and bands of Greek-key and swastika motifs, along with roselike medallions. The round-headed windows in the drum cut into its cornice, giving a scalloped look to its roofline.

The Pantepoptes is a quite perfect example of an eleventh-century church of the four-column type, with three apses and a double narthex (Fig. 100). This is a variant of the cross-domed church characteristic of Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture during the last five centuries of the empire. The exonarthex is divided into three bays separated by transverse arches. The central bay, which is larger than those on the sides, has a low dome without windows, while the side bays have groin vaults. The entryway is in the central bay, and there are doors to the narthex in the other three bays. These doors and other portals in the building are framed with finely carved marble jambs and lintels, those in the exonarthex being in red marble.

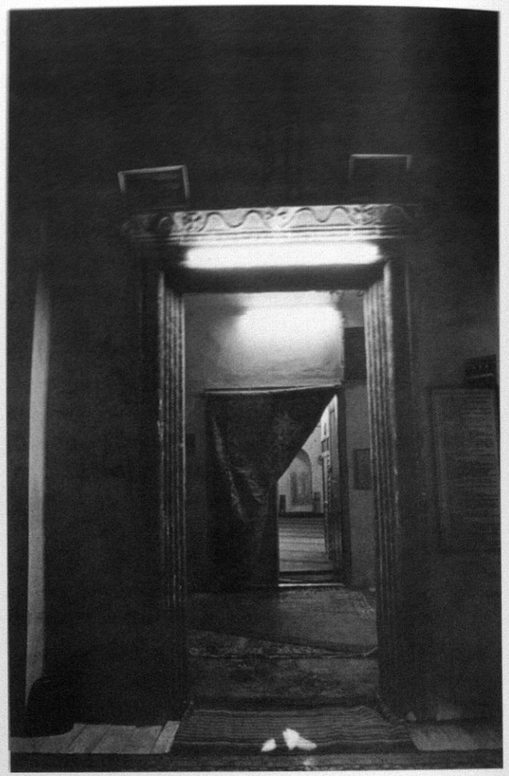


100. Plan and section of Christ Pantepoptes (from Van Millingen)

The narthex also has three bays, all of them covered with groin vaults separated by transverse arches, and it opens into the naos through three doors (Fig. 101). Its walls seem to have been reveted with marble, which has now vanished. There was originally a door in the northern wall, but this has now been bricked in.

Over the central bay of the inner narthex there is a gallery, also divided into three cross-groined vaults separated by transverse arches. The central bay, which is the largest, opens into the lunette of the central crossarm of the nave through a charming triple arcade carried on two rose-colored marble columns (Plate XXVII). This gallery, approached by wooden stairs in the naos, would have been reserved for the empress Anna Dalassena and her entourage. There are two cells in the gallery with little windows overlooking the naos; these may have been for private devotion or even seclusion.

The church (Fig. 102) has retained most of its original characteristics, though the four columns have as usual been replaced by piers and the colonnades at the ends of the crossarms have been filled in. The tympanum wall of the south crossarm still retains its original fenestration, with three windows in the lunette of the arch, the

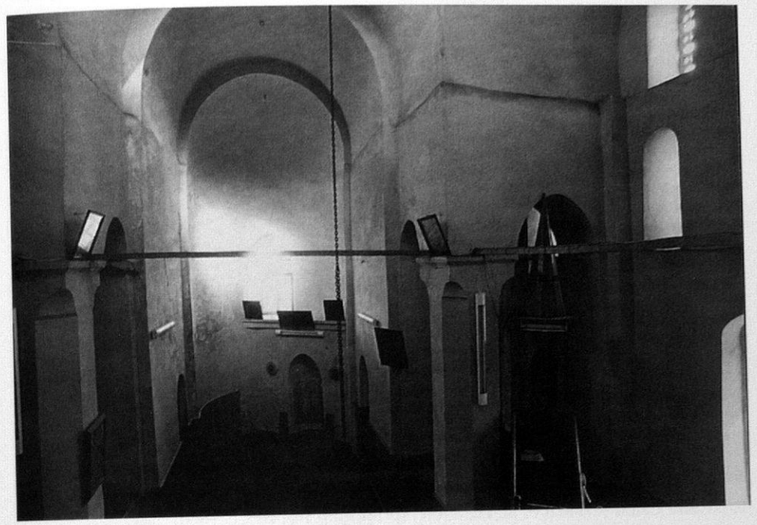


101. Christ Pantepoptes, view from the door leading from the exonarthex to the narthex

central opening higher than the others, and three windows of equal height in the zone below, all openings round-headed. The dome has TWELVE round-headed windows between which TWELVE deep ribs taper out toward the crown, resting on a cornice that still preserves its original decoration, a meander pattern of palmettes and flowers.

The crossarms have barrel vaults, while the corner bays are covered with groin vaults. The triple windows of the central apse have been altered so that there is now a single opening. The side apses, however, preserve their windows and their beautiful marble cornice. These small chambers have niches on all four sides, the one to the east somewhat deeper than the others. The niches extend upward through a vaulting string-course to join the groin vault above them.

All that remains of the original interior decoration are some fine sculptured cornices and stringcourses as well as in the imposts in the piers of the outer walls of the exonarthex. The floor of the naos is paved in square red bricks, except in the apse, which is in marble.



102. Christ Pantepoptes, the nave

Alexander Van Millingen, in his *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople,* writes appreciatively of the Pantepoptes:

> S. Saviour Pantepoptes is the most carefully built of the later churches of Constantinople. The little irregularities of setting out so common in the other churches of the city are here almost entirely absent. This accuracy of building, the carving of the string-courses, and the remains of marble decoration both within and on the exterior, prove exceptional care.[1]

Kilise Camii

Another monument that may date from the early Comnenian period is the handsome Byzantine church known as Kilise Camii (Church Mosque) (Fig. 103, Plate XXVIII), which is in the Vefa district on the Third Hill.

This was identified by Gyllius as the Church of St. Theodore, based on what the local Greeks told him, but this identification has since been abandoned. Nothing is known of the history of the church other than the fact that it was converted into a mosque soon after the Ottoman Conquest. The church and its narthex have been dated by Krautheimer to *c.* 1100 or slightly later, while the exonarthex and its attractive portico are believed to have been added *c.* 1320, when the structure may have rebuilt around its original Comnenian core. Constructed of stone, brick, and marble, its elaborate design and decoration identify the outer part of the building as belonging to the great flowering of Byzantine architecture in the early fourteenth century.

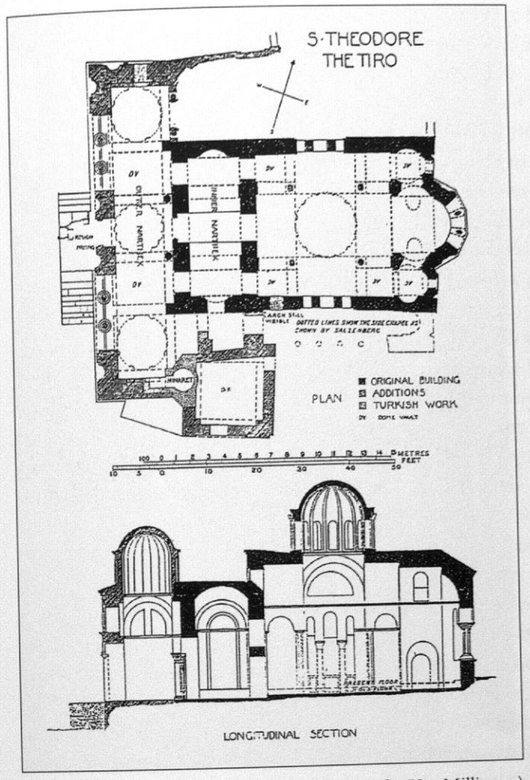


103. Kilise Camii (Church of St. Theodore) (print from Papates, c. 1876)

The western façade of the building, which stands on on a site sloping down to the south, is particularly attractive. The lower part has two triple arcades flanking a masonry block containing the central portal, which is approached by a double flight of steps, with slender niches in the end piers and another pair flanking the portal. The two capitals in the southern arcade are Corinthian, while those in the arcade to the north are variants of the melon type. All of them are finely carved, though badly damaged, and are probably spolia from earlier buildings. The upper part of the façade corresponds to the internal arrangement of the exonarthex, with five semicircular blind arches, each containing a round-headed window.

The German archaeologist H. Hallensleben has suggested that the square structure southeast of the minaret is the first story of a belfry built at the same time as the outer narthex.

Two of the five bays of the exonarthex extend beyond the flanks of the building to the north and south (Fig. 104). There is some evidence that there was a south aisle or porch, which would have been a Palaeologan addition, but it is less evident that there was an aisle or porch on the north side The central bay and the two on the ends are covered with domes on high drums with windows, while the other two bays are barrel-vaulted. The central bay has a pumpkin dome with sixteen sectors, and those on the ends are ribbed domes with eight segments each. The domes were once decorated with mosaic portraits, but these are now only barely visible in the south dome, those in the others having vanished. These apparently represented the ancestors of Christ, and they have been dated to between 1295 and 1300, based on stylistic analysis. Robert Ousterhout remarks that "this stands at odds with the architecture [of the narthex], which is normally, albeit tentatively, dated to about 1320. A closer examination of the paintings may resolve this problem."[2]



104. Plan of Kilise Camii (from Ousterhout, after Van Millingen)

A door in the east wall of the north bay of the exonarthex leads to a two-storey annex, which was probably added to the north flank of the church in the Palaeologan period. The inside of the door is flanked by two columns with Corinthian capitals, another pair of which flank a door, now blocked off, that once led into the northern bay of the narthex.

The central door leading from the exonarthex to the narthex is set in a marble frame also flanked by two columns with Corinthian capitals. These and the other handsome columns, capitals, and doorframes appear to be reused material from an earlier church, probably of the fifth or sixth century.

The narthex (Fig. 105) has three bays, the one in the center covered by a domical vault and the other two by barrel vaults, and at each end it terminates in a shallow niche. Each of the bays has doors leading to both the exonarthex and the naos.

The church is of the four-column type, though the columns were removed in Ottoman times and replaced by piers. The main dome (Plate XXIX) rises from a dodecagonal drum pierced by twelve windows. On the exterior, the cornice of the dome undulates to follow the extradoes of the round-arched windows.



105. Kilise Camii, narthex, looking south

The crossarms are covered by barrel vaults and the corner bays by domical vaults. The eastern crossarm is pierced by two windows in its vaulting. The walls of the north and south crossarms once had triple windows with a parapet of carved marble slabs between them, but these have been built up almost to their full height, leaving only small openings for light at the top. The apse, which is five-sided on the exterior, is decorated by an arcade of five arches and an upper tier of five niches; it is lighted by a triple window framed by colonettes with ancient capitals, now badly damaged. The pastophoria chapels do not project beyond the face of the eastern wall but are separated from the central apse by angular grooves. On the interior, each of them of them has a niche on the east and side walls, and on the other side there is a passageway through to the bema.

Two of the most celebrated of the city's extant churches also were founded in the early Comnenian era, though they were rebuilt and took on their present form in the Palaeologan period. These are Fethiye Camii and Kariye Camii, which are described in Chapter 12.

Alexius began his reign faced with powerful enemies on all of the empire's frontiers. By then the Selçuks had overrun most of Asia Minor, establishing a state

known as the Sultanate of Rum, with its capital first at Nicaea and then later at Iconium (Konya). At the same time, the Normans had invaded Greece, though Roger Guiscard's dream of capturing Constantinople ended with his sudden death in 1085. No sooner had the Norman threat ended than new crises arose in the Balkans, and Alexius had to fight off invasions by the Patzinaks and another Turkic tribe called the Cumans. The Patzinaks besieged Constantinople in 1090 while the city was attacked simultaneously from the sea by the fleet of Tzachas, the Turkish emir of Smyrna (Izmir). But the Byzantine navy destroyed the Turkish fleet in a blaze of Greek fire, and Alexius destroyed the Patzinak army.

Alexius then faced a new challenge with the onset of the First Crusade. The great feudal lords of western Europe began arriving in the vicinity of Constantinople toward the end of 1096, most notably Counts Godfrey of Bouillon and Bohemund of Taranto, son of Roger Guiscard. After a battle with the crusaders outside the Theodosian Walls, Alexius persuaded Godfrey and Bohemund to swear an oath of allegiance to him in which they pledged that they would return to the empire any of its former possessions that they might recapture from the Selçuks.

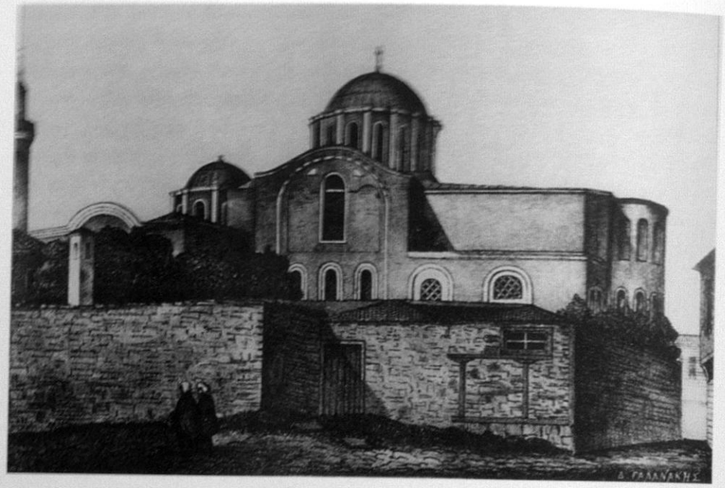
Alexius spent the last two decades of his reign campaigning against the Selçuks in Asia Minor. After his last campaign against the Selçuks, in 1117, Alexius became gravely ill. As his end neared, his wife, the empress Eirene, tried to persuade him to disinherit his son John in favor of their daughter Anna's husband, the Caesar John Bryennius. But on his deathbed Alexius decided in favor of his son, who succeeded as John II (r. 1118–43) after his father passed away on 15 August 1118.

John was thirty-one when he succeeded to the throne. He had already marrried the princess Priska, daughter of King Ladislaus of Poland, who changed her name to Eirene. Eirene eventually bore John three daughters and four sons, the youngest of whom, the future Manuel I, lived to succeed his father as emperor. Eirene died in 1134 and was buried in the great triple church of the Pantokrator, which she and John had built on the summit of the Fourth Hill, not far from the Church of Christ Pantepoptes that Anna had erected a half-century earlier.

The Church of Christ Pantokrator (Zeyrek Camii)

The Pantokrator (Fig. 106, Plate XXX), known in Turkish as Zeyrek Camii, is the most impressive of the Middle Byzantine churches in the city, a prominent landmark on the skyline above the Golden Horn, standing on the heights above the deep valley between the Third and Fourth Hills.

The Pantokrator (Fig. 107) is a composite building that originally consisted of a monastery with two churches and a funerary chapel between them. The whole complex was built in the period 1118–36. The monastery and the south church were built by the empress Eirene and dedicated to Christ Pantokrator. After Eirene's death, the emperor John erected a second church a short distance to the north of hers; this was dedicated to the Virgin Eleousa (the Merciful or Charitable). When this was finished, John decided to join the two churches with a third church, dedicated to the Archangel Michael. This was designed to serve as a mortuary chapel for the Comnenus dynasty, beginning



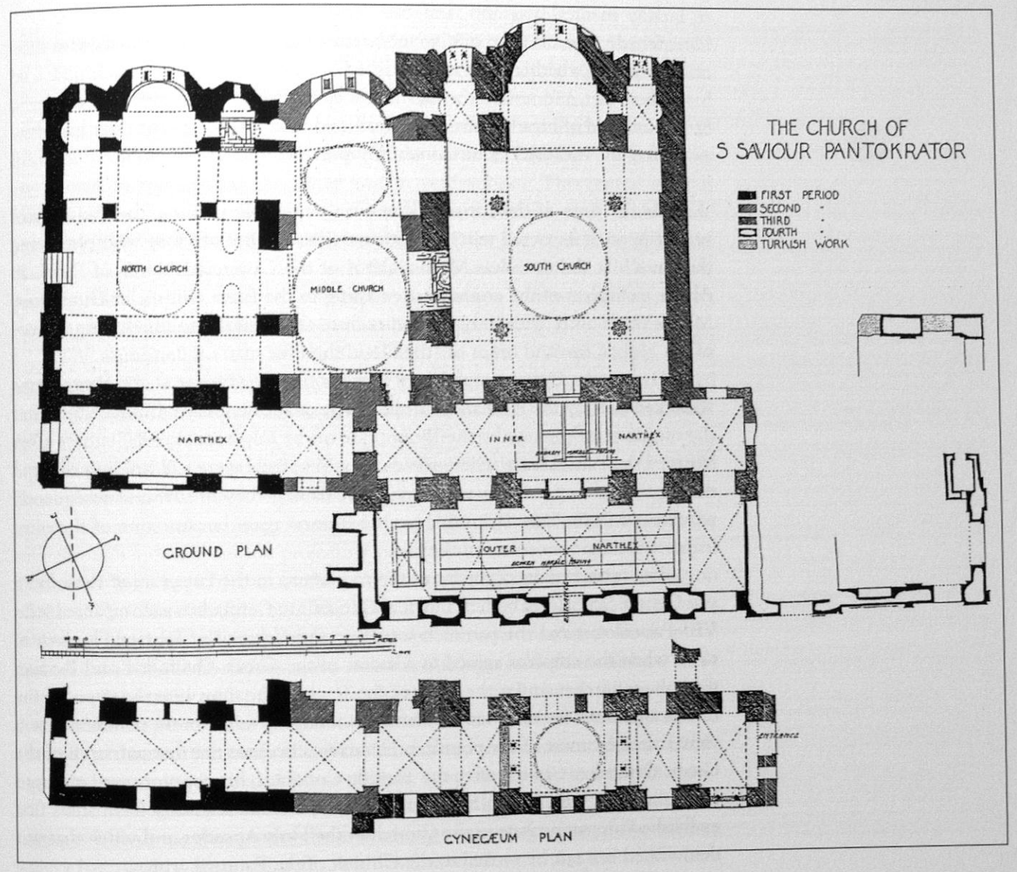
106. The Church of the Pantokrator (Zeyrek Camii) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

with the empress Eirene, who was reburied there after its completion. John II was interred in the chapel after his death in 1143, and his son and successor Manuel I was buried there in 1180. During the first half of the fifteenth century, the chapel served as a mortuary for the Palaeologus dynasty, the last to rule Byzantium. Two of the last three emperors of Byzantium were buried here: Manuel II in 1425 and John VIII in 1448. Buried alongside John was his wife, Maria of Trebizond, the last empress of Byzantium, who had died a few years earlier. (Constantine XI, the last emperor, was a widower when he succeeded to the throne, and he did not remarry.)

The monastery of the Pantokrator was one of the most renowned in Byzantium. It was a very extensive foundation, including a famous hospital and a hospice for old men. All of its buildings have disappeared, probably the source of the widespread ruins and substructures in the neighborhood of the Pantokrator.

The imperial *typikon,* or monastic charter, for the Pantokrator has been preserved in the library of the Greek Orthodox Theological School on Halki, in the Princes Isles. The charter, which was granted in 1136, made the monastery an autonomous institution, independent of the patriarch or the prefect of the city and exempt from all taxes. It also set aside a rich endowment for the foundation, including vineyards that provided wine for the clergy of the Pantokrator, which was served by eighty priests and fifty assistants, divided into two shifts, officiating on alternate weeks. The clergy were headed by an abbot, who was chosen by the brotherhood from among three candidates selected by his predecessor as being worthy of succeeding him.

Alexander Van Millingen writes of the Pantokrator's charter in *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople,* giving further details of the various institutions associated with the monastery:



107. Plan of the Pantokrator (from Ousterout)

In connection with the monastery there was a bath, capable of containing six persons, in which the monks were required to bathe twice a month, except during Lent, when the bath was used only in case of illness.

The home for old men supported by the House accommodated twenty-four persons, providing them with bread, wine, oil, cheese, fuel, medical assistance, and small gifts of money.

The hospital had fifty beds for the poor. It was divided into five wards: a ward of ten beds for surgical patients; another, of eight beds, for grave cases; a third, of ten beds, for less serious complaints; the fourth ward had twelve beds for women; the fifth contained ten beds for what seemed light cases. Each ward was in charge of two physicians, three medical assistants, and four servitors. A lady physician, six

lady medical assistants, and two female nurses, took charge of the female patients. The sick were visited daily by a house doctor, who inquired whether they were satisfied with their treatment, examined their diet, and saw to the cleanliness of their beds. The ordinary diet consisted of bread, beans, onions, oil, and wine. Throughout their history the monasteries of Constantinople remembered the poor.[3]

At the time of the Latin sack of Constantinople in 1204, the Pantokrator was stripped of its sacred relics and other treasures. One of those who plundered the church at the time was Martin, abbot of the Cistercian Abbey of Parisis in Alsace, a chaplain of the crusaders. According to the Latin chronicler Guntherus, Martin made away with sixty-two relics from the Pantokrator, including a piece of the Holy Cross and drops of "the blood shed for man's redemption."

During the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61), the Pantokrator was taken over by the Roman Catholic clergy of the Venetians. Immediately after the recapture of the city by the Byzantines, on 25 July 1261, their Genoese allies stormed the Pantokrator, where some of the Venetians were still holding out, and during the fighting the monastery was badly damaged by fire. It was subsequently rebuilt, and in the later Byzantine period it once again became one of the most important religious centers in the city.

The most famous occupant of the monastery in the last years of Byzantium was George Scholarios, better known as Gennadius. Gennadius accompanied John VIII Palaeologus and the patriarch Joseph to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1437, when the emperor agreed to a union of the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches under the aegis of the Pope. Gennadius bitterly opposed the union, and when he returned to Constantinople, he vehemently denounced it, a view shared by most of the populace. Gennadius became the first patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church after the Turkish Conquest, his appointment approved by Mehmet II, with whom he maintained very cordial relations. Gennadius first established his patriarchate in the Church of the Holy Apostles, and when that was demolished in 1456, he moved to the Church of the Pammakaristos.

Shortly after the conquest, the Pantokrator was converted into a mosque by Molla Mehmet Zeyrek, and so it came to be called Zeyrek Camii. The conversion greatly altered the internal divisions of the building. Archaeological studies have revealed that the complex was much more subdivided in the Byzantine period; large arches were only opened up with the transformation of the building into a mosque. The sequence of the Pantokrator's architectural history was established by Arthur H. S. Megaw in an article published in 1963, summing up the findings of a study of the building begun by the Byzantine Institute of Archaeology in 1954. This project uncovered part of the original marble pavement of the church beneath the wooden floor of the mosque.

At present the mosque is situated in the south church, which is preceded on the west by the exonarthex and then the narthex, the latter extending across the west front of all three churches. The southern half of this narthex was built by the empress Eirene as part of the south church, while the northern half was added later by the emperor John when he built the north church and the central chapel.

The exonarthex and the original narthex of the south church extend to both north and south beyond the flanks of the building. The exonarthex, entered by a single door in the center, is in five bays covered by groin vaults resting on pilasters, the central bay considerably wider than the others. The floor is paved with large slabs of Proconnesian marble with a border of red marble. Doors lead from each bay to the corresponding bay of the narthex. The three central doors are framed in red marble, the other two in verd antique. The central door is flanked by rectangular windows also framed in verd antique, their jambs made from columns removed from earlier structures. Over the central door and its flanking windows there is a large arch flanked by smaller arches, all three now partially filled in. The southern end of the exonarthex is now taken up with a wooden house, the residence of the imam of the mosque.

The narthex also has five bays and has the same type of paving as the exonarthex. The central bay of the narthex vault was removed and a dome added in a later phase, following the addition of the outer narthex. This bay was originally open to the gallery above, whose corresponding bay is covered with a dome on a high drum, but now a wooden ceiling intervenes. This woodwork also forms the floor of the imperial loge that was built in the corresponding bay of the narthex gallery, where the sultan, when he visited Zeyrek Camii, could look down into the nave through a double arcade projecting out over the doorway on a large corbel. The other four bays of the narthex are covered with groin vaults resting on pilasters. The three middle bays, the central one being the largest, have doors leading to the naos, all of them framed in red Phrygian marble. A door in the northern wall of the north bay opens into the northern half of the narthex, while a door in the eastern wall of that bay leads into the central church. There are two doors in similar positions at the south end of the narthex, one of which opened to a lateral narthex on the south side of the church and the other to monastic buildings that have now vanished. All four of these doors are framed in white marble.

The west gallery extends above both the north and south sections of the narthex. The dome that covers the central bay of the south part of the narthex gallery has TWENTY-FOUR segments, with twelve windows in the drum, of which those facing the western crossarm of the south church are blind. This bay was originally open to improve the lighting of the narthex below. Windows, each divided by shafts in three lights, now blocked off, looked down into the open bay of the narthex from the bays of the gallery on either side. There was a similar window in the southernmost bay of the gallery.

The south church (Figs. 108, 109, Plate XXXI) is of the four-column type, with a central dome and a triple apse. According to Gilles, the original columns that supported the dome were "of red variegated marble, each of which measures seven feet in circumference."[4] These were probably spolia from an earlier structure; they were removed in Ottoman times following damage, probably in the eighteenth century, and replaced by piers in the Turkish baroque style. The south church is the largest example of the four-column type in the city, covered by a ribbed dome seven meters in diameter. The dome has sixteen segments, each with a corresponding window in the supporting drum. The crossarms are barrel-vaulted and the corner bays are covered by domical vaults. The southern



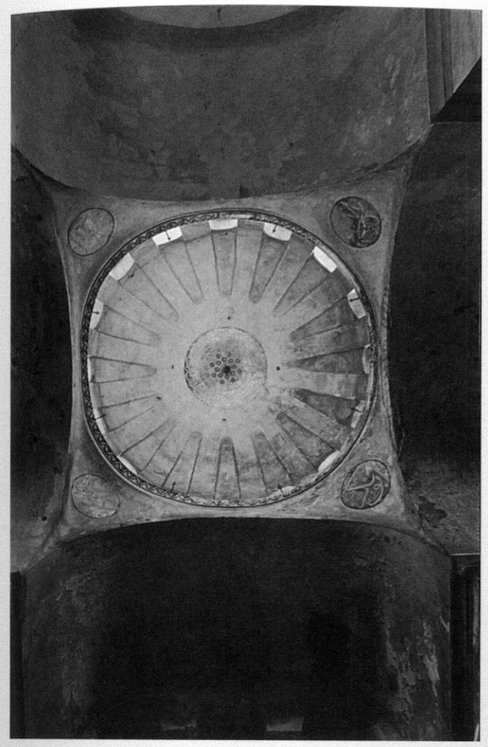
108. The Pantokrator, nave of the south church

wall of the lateral crossarm has a triple window in the gable and a row of three windows below the string course. (Here, as elsewhere, some of these windows have been blocked off.). The northern wall originally had the same arrangement of windows, but after the erection of the middle church these were blocked off, except for the upper parts of the gable windows. The west crossarm also had the same fenestration, and one can still see the gable windows from the interior; these were blocked off when the narthex gallery and its central dome were added.

The apse, which had a synthronon, has five sides on the exterior. Both the prothesis and diakonikon were connected to the bema by passageways. Megaw's study indicated that originally there were two groin-vaulted bays south of the diakonikon and three doorways on this side of the church. This led him to suggest that there was what he calls a "lateral narthex" along the south side of the south church.

The nave was originally flanked by two lateral aisles, of which only the one on the south is preserved, though inaccessible, while the north aisle was probably demolished when the central church was built.

The south church preserves a good deal of its original decoration, including the marble pavement, the handsome doorframes of the narthex, and the almost complete marble revetment of the apse. The Byzantine Institute uncovered part of the opus sectile pavement of the church, arranged in great squares and circles of colored marble with figures in the borders, including a panel tentatively identified as representing one of the labors of Samson. Notice also the curious Turkish mimber, made from fragments of Byzantine sculpture, including the canopy of a ciborium. One of these spolia has been identified as a sculptural fragment from the church of St. Polyeuctus. The investigations of the Byzantine Institute also discovered fragments of stained glass from the east window with



109. The Pantokrator, dome of the south church

images of standing saints. Examples of the glass are displayed in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

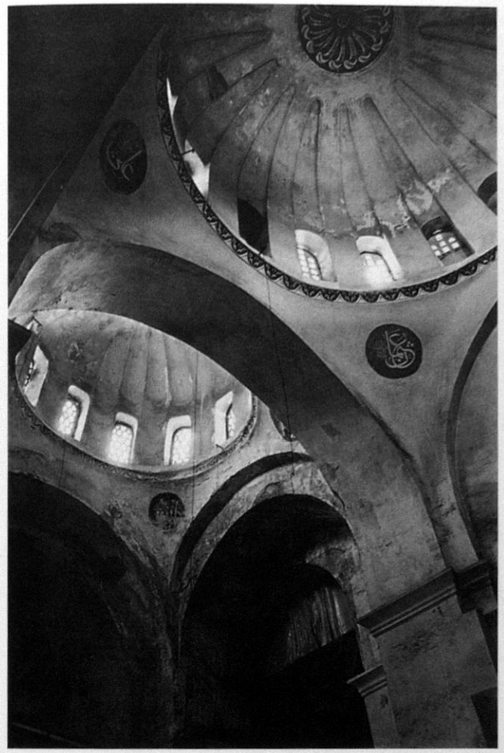
The north church (Fig. 110) is somewhat smaller than the south church but of essentially the same type and plan. According to Gilles, the original four columns were of Theban granite, but here again they were replaced by piers. The central bay is somewhat longer from east to west than from north to south. As a result, the dome cornice has approximately the form of two semicircles to east and west connected by flattened sections. The dome has been entirely replaced, probably in the eighteenth century after an earthquake. The dome is carried on a high drum with eight windows. The crossarms are barrel-vaulted and the corner bays are covered with domical vaults. The south barrel vault is penetrated by two openings, perhaps created later to improve the lighting when the central funerary chapel was built. The prothesis and diakonikon chapels are covered with barrel vaults and have apses that on the exterior project slightly on three sides. The main apse has a very lofty triple window and is decorated with high shallow blind niches, as are the smaller apses of the flanking pastophoria. After the central chapel was built, a passage was opened to its bema from the south flank of the diakonikon of the north church.



110. The Pantokrator, dome of the north church

The narthex of the north church has four groin-vaulted bays on transverse arches. The second bay from the north is wider than the others, since it corresponds to the central nave of the church. This and the bay to its south have doors opening into the naos. There was originally a door in the north bay as well, but this has been partly built up. The southernmost bay was added when the center chapel was built, communicating through a door with the north bay of the narthex of the south church. Doors open into the central chapel from the south bay of the narthex of the north church and from the north bay of the narthex of the south church. The combined narthex thus extended across the west sides of all three churches.

Unfortunately, the north church has preserved little of its original decoration. There are traces of mosaics in the soffit of the upper central window in the north wall. The finely carved cornice that runs all the way around the building is here described by Thomas Mathews: "On the cornice, which was probably painted originally, a vine with pomegranates is used to enframe a variety of motifs including chalices, peacocks, formalized leaves, cocks fighting, doves adossed at a tree-of-life, and various birds of the hunt."[5]



111. The Pantokrator, domes of the central funerary chapel

The central funerary chapel (Fig. 111) is a structure without aisles and with only one apse, its nave covered by two domes. It is highly irregular in form because it had to fit between the north and south churches, which are not of exactly the same size, nor precisely parallel to one another. Parts of the walls of the two churches were demolished so that they opened widely into the intervening chapel.

The two domes of the central church are separated by a transverse arch. The eastern dome covers the bay in front of the bema. The bay along its north-south axis is longer than along its east-west axis, and thus the cornice of the dome forms semicircles to north and south joined by flattened sections to east and west. The reverse is true of the much larger western dome, whose cornice is formed by semicircles to east and west joined by flattened sections to north and south. Each of them is a ribbed dome carried on a high drum with windows. The eastern dome has twenty-four segments, twelve of which have windows, while the western dome has sixteen shallow segments, each with a window. The drums of the two domes are adjacent to one another above the transverse arch that separates them, so the central west window of the east dome opens through to the western dome, with blind windows on either side of it.

The floor under the arch leading from the central chapel into the south church is paved with richly decorated marble. This has led to the supposition that the central chapel was entirely paved in marble similar to that of the south church.

Mango has discovered both archaeological and epigraphical evidence for one of the tombs in the funerary chapel, that of Manuel I Comnenus, son and successor of John II. Beside Manuel's tomb there was a most sacred relic known as the Stone of Unction, the slab upon which Christ's body was supposed to have been laid after his crucifixion. When this was brought to Constantinople, Manuel himself carried it on his back from the imperial harbor at Boukoleon to a chapel in the Great Palace, and after his death it was placed next to his tomb in the Pantokrator. The crusader Robert de Clari, who saw Manuel's tomb in 1203, writes thus of it:

> Never was born on this earth a holy man or a holy woman who is buried in so rich or so splendid a fashion as this emperor in this abbey. There is found the marble table on which Our Lord was laid when taken down from the cross, and there are still seen the tears which Our Lady shed upon it.[6]

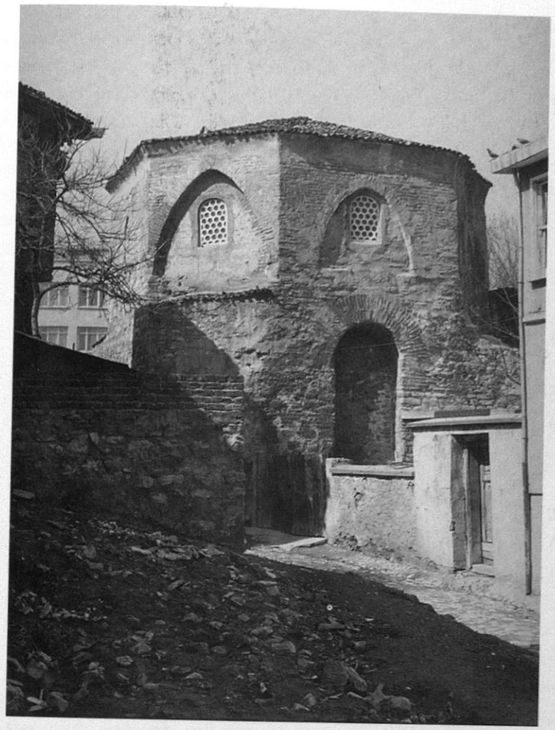
A program of restoration and research has now been begun by Professor Robert Ousterhout of the University of Illinois and Professors Metin Ahunbey and Zeynep Ahunbey of Istanbul Technical University. The program of restoration has thus far concentrated on the exterior, roof, and windows. Meanwhile the south church continues to function as a mosque.

Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi

About 250 meters west of the Pantokrator there is a small Byzantine structure known as Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi (Fig. 112, Plate XXXII). Its proximity to Zeyrek Camii led to the suggestion that it was associated with the Pantokrator complex, but current opinion is that it was probably not part of the monastery. Suggestions have also been made that it was perhaps a mausoleum or a baptistery, but there is no definite evidence to support these suppositions. On the exterior, the structure is square below and octagonal above. Within, it is altogether octagonal, with shallow niches in the cross-axes; below there is a crypt. This strange and interesting building has never been investigated seriously, so neither its identity nor its date are known. In times past it served as a *mescit,* a small mosque, while today it houses a school in which children learn to read the Koran.

Gül Camii (The Church of St. Theodosia)

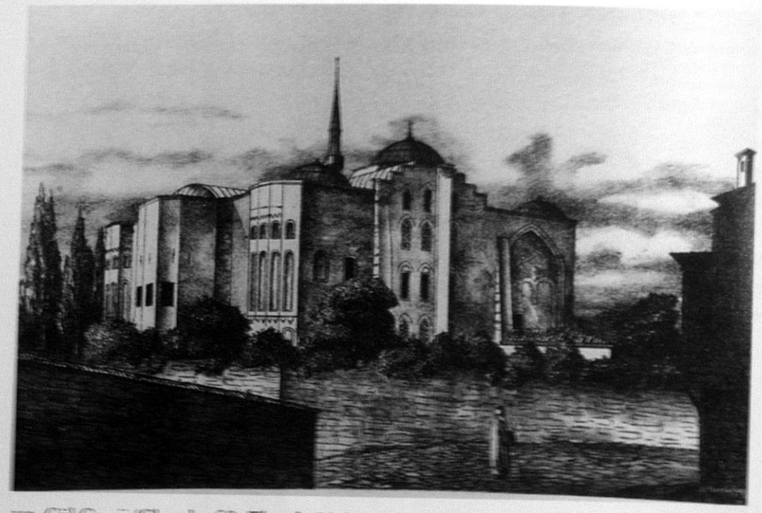
Another impressive monument of the Middle Byzantine period is the former church known as Gül Camii (Fig. 113, Plate XXXIII) the Mosque of the Rose, which is near the shore of the Golden Horn below the Fifth Hill, the district known in Byzantine times as the Petrion.



112. Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi

The approach to the building from the Golden Horn takes one past Ayakapı, the Holy Gate, a small postern in the Byzantine sea walls. This was known in Byzantine times as the Gate of St. Theodosia, after the nearby church of that name. It was also called the Gate of Dexiocrates, because of the proximity of a monastery of that name, which gave its name to the quarter. All of these names are of significance in establishing the original name of the Byzantine church now known as Gül Camii. Though it has generally been identified as the Church of St. Theodosia, its dedication and its date have long been in question, as have those of another extant Byzantine church in the vicinity, the so-called Ayakapı Church, whose ruins were discovered in 1935 by Alfons Maria Schneider next to the Byzantine postern known as Ayakapı.

Theodosia was an iconodule saint martyred in 726 because of the iconoclastic policy of Leo III. The *Vita* of St. Theodosia records that she was buried near the quarter of Dexiocrates, while a twelfth-century codex states that the saint's feast on May 29 was celebrated in the Church of St. Theodosia as well as in the Monastery of Dexiocrates, where her relics were kept. The Church of St. Theodosia is mentioned again by Pachymeres, who writes of a miracle that



113. Gül Camii (Church of St. Theodosia) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

occurred within its precincts in 1309. The historian Ducas mentions the Church of St. Theodosia in connection with the slaughter that took place in its vicinity on 29 May 1453, when Constantinople fell to the Turks. He writes that the Turkish soldiers who burst into the church found it decorated with roses for the feast of St. Theodosia, which is why it was called Gül Camii when it was converted into a mosque, or so the story goes.

A patriarchal document of 1370 states that the Church of St. Theodosia and the contiguous monastery of Christ Euergetes were then in the possession of the Patriarch of Alexandria. The relics of St. Theodosia are mentioned in the diaries of four Russian pilgrims who visited Constantinople. Two of them, Stephen of Novgorod in 1350 and the Anonymous Pilgrim in 1390, write that the relics were in a monastery of St. Theodosia, while the fifteenth-century pilgrim Zosimus (not to be confused with the late Roman historian) says that they were in the Monastery of Christ Euergetes.

Pierre Gilles and Stefan Gerlach, who visited Istanbul in the years 1573–78, were the first to identify Gül Camii as the Church of St. Theodosia, which was dated by Van Millingen and other scholars to the ninth century. This date was generally accepted until 1973, when Hartmut Schafer published his study of Gül Camii, showing that the recessed-brick technique was used both in its substructure and the original structure of the church, which underwent substantial change when it was converted into a mosque. Since there is no evidence of the recessed-brick technique in Constantinople before the second half of the tenth century, the ninth century date for Gül Camii must be rejected.

Schafer distinguished three building periods in the substructure of Gül Camii, all of them using the recessed-brick technique. He concluded that the first phase probably belonged to another building that was partially demolished

during the construction of the second phase, on which the present upper structure was erected. The third phase was an extension to the west, of whose upper levels no trace remains. Schafer dates the second phase to the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. His findings led him to reject the identification of Gül Camii as St. Theodosia, since, according to him, there is no mention of a church of that name before the Palaeologan era. Instead he identifies Gül Camii as the Monastery of Christ Euergetes.

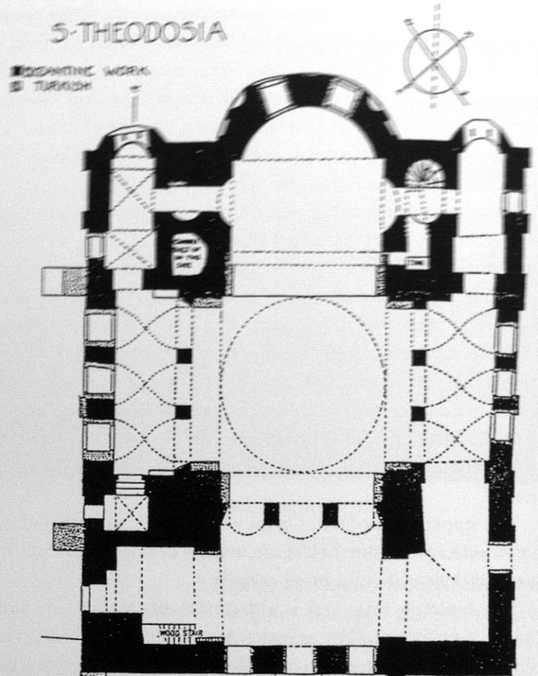
Berge Aran, however, in an article published in 1979, points out that the church of St. Theodosia is in fact mentioned as early as the twelfth century, and he also states that Schafer incorrectly interpreted his Byzantine sources. Nevertheless, Aran agrees with Schafer's identification of Gül Camii as the Monastery of Euergetes, whose rebuilding he attributes to John Comnenus, nephew of Alexius I Comnenus, and he also suggests that the Ayakapı Church is the Church of St. Theodosia. An analysis of the structure of the Ayakapı Church, which uses the recessed-brick technique, led Berge Aran to postulate a date of *c.* 1200. Thomas Mathews disagrees with Schafer, writing that "his suggested identification of the Gül Camii as Christos Euergetes is not confirmed by the sources."[77]

The upper parts of Gül Camii were considerably altered in Ottoman times. The two side apses, nonetheless, are worthy of note, with their three tiers of blind niches and their elaborate brick corbels.

The building (Fig. 114) is a domed basilica with side aisles and a western ambulatory surmounted by galleries. Access to the galleries is via a staircase in the northern bay of the western ambulatory. Each of the three galleries rests on a triple arcade carried by square piers. The north and south aisles are covered by groin vaults, while the western ambulatory has a barrel vault. The cross arches in the south and west galleries are pointed and thus identifiably Turkish, but since the barrel vaults above them are Byzantine, they may simply have been cut away in Ottoman times to give more headroom.

The piers supporting the dome are disengaged from the walls, and the corners behind them form alcoves of two storeys (Figs. 115, 116, Plate XXXIV). The central dome and the pointed arches that support it are Ottoman reconstructions, as are most of the windows. The dome has no internal drum and is without windows; externally it is octagonal with a very low drum and a flat cornice. The gable walls of the crossarms are also Turkish, as is the western wall. Since the main axis of the building happens to be in the direction of Mecca, it was not necessary to place the mihrap off-axis when it was converted to a mosque. Thus the main apse has retained its original form and parts of its Byzantine walls, although there are Turkish alterations. The barrel-vaulted bema is obviously Byzantine, as are its flanking chapels on the ground and gallery levels.

The apsidal chapels on the ground level, the prothesis and diakonikon, consist of two bays covered by groin vaults, with passageways communicating with the bema. Above the pastophoria, the chapels in the galleries are domed. These gallery chapels have hemispherical ribless domes that rest directly on the pendentives between the circular arches, which are obviously Byzantine. The arches that open to the galleries are pointed and are therefore Turkish.



door opens to a winding stairway of nine steps leading up to the chamber in the southeast pier. Within the chamber there is a catafalque covered with a green cloth adorned with Turkish embroidery, with a turban around the headstone. The chamber has a small window to the north, and in its ceiling there is an opening that extends up the floor at the east end of the south gallery, where it is covered by a grating. This and the other chamber in the northeast pier were probably tombs of saints, whose relics would have been venerated in the two chapels at the east ends of the north and south galleries. A Greek tradition, first mentioned in 1852 in a letter from the patriarch Constantius to Scarlatos Byzantios, has it that the chamber in the southeast pier was the tomb of Constantine XI Dragases, the last emperor of Byzantium, who died on 29 May 1453 defending Constantinople against the Turks. According to the patriarch, this tradition had long been current among the local Greeks, though another legend places the tomb of the last emperor in an old Greek church in the Vefa quarter on the Third Hill. Both of these traditions would seem to be apocryphal, for George Sphrantzes, who was with Constantine on the night before the city fell, says that the emperor's body was never found.





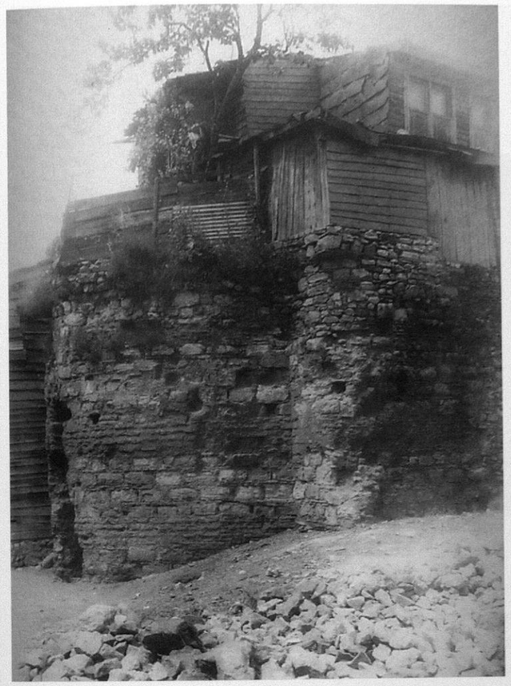
116. Gül Camii, south side of the nave and gallery

The three apses project markedly from the eastern wall of the building, the central one showing seven sides, the others three. The apses are certainly Byzantine, but the central part of the main apse seems to have been repaired in Ottoman times, as evidenced by its plain appearance, which contrasts with the appearance of the side apses, adorned with four tiers of five niches, corresponding to the levels of the windows and vaults in the interior.

The Ayakapi Church

As noted, when Schneider discovered this church (Fig. 117) in 1935, he named it for the Ayakapı gate, in whose vicinity it stands. It is thirty to forty meters to the east of the gate along the shore of the Golden Horn. Schneider's plan and photograph are the only known record of the church. Its dedication is unknown, though, as noted, Berge Aran has suggested that it, not Gül Camii, is the Church of St. Theodosia.

The church itself consists of a cruciform chamber some five meters along its principal axes, covered by a groin vault, with a circular apse to the east. A passage

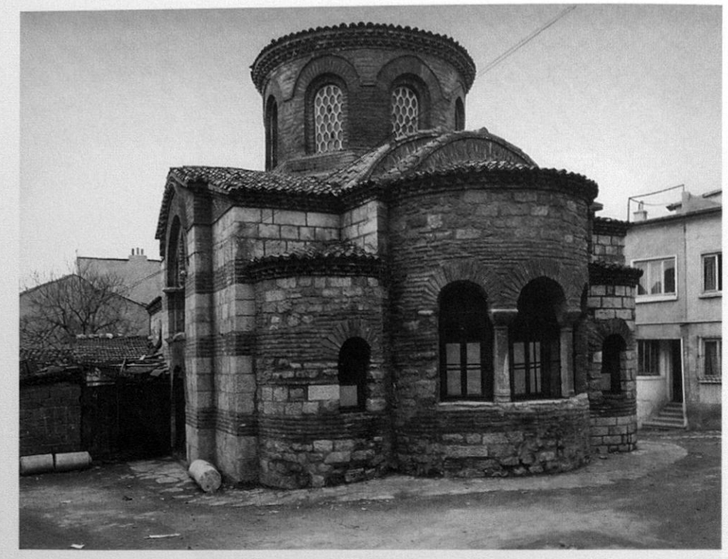


117. Ayakapı Church

on the west side of the church led to a transverse hall consisting of two identical rectangular chambers, the southern one projecting beyond the body of the building for its full length. Mathews reports that the church "has since been leveled," but in fact most of it is still there, though almost totally obscured by the modern buildings that hem it in on all sides. Its apse, with its alternating courses of brick and stone, can be clearly seen from within a lumber warehouse on the shore road.

The Church of St. John in Trullo (Hirami Ahmet Paşa Camii)

This charning little Byzantine church (Fig. 118) is located on the Fifth Hill, about seventy-five meters south of the more famous Fethiye Camii, the Church of the Pammakaristos. It has been identified tentatively as the Church of St. John the Baptist in Trullo, while in Turkish it is known as Hirami Ahmet Paşa Camii.



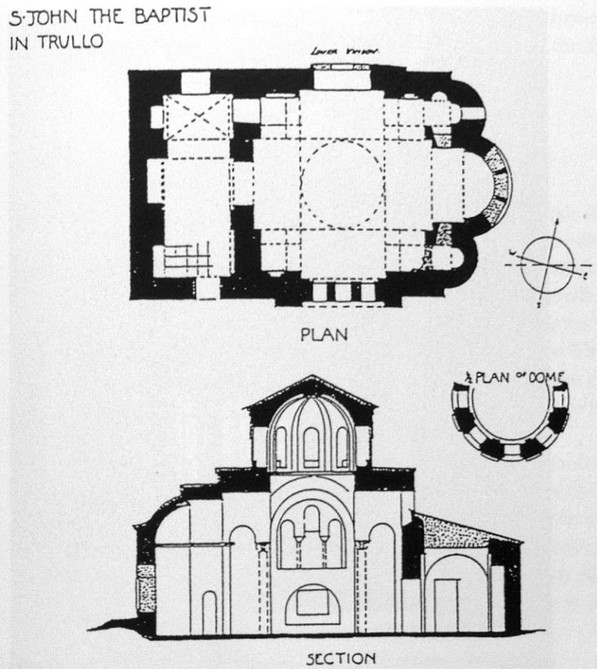
118. Church of St. John in Trullo (Hirami Ahmet Paşa Camii)

Nothing whatever is known of the history of this church in Byzantine times. In 1456, when Gennadius transferred the patriarchate to the Pammakaristos, he turned out the few nuns who still remained there and moved them to this church. There were nuns in residence here until 1586, when the church was converted into a mosque by Hirami Ahmet Paşa, from whom it takes its Turkish name.

This little building (Fig. 119) is an example of a cross-in-square church with a narthex. It was evidently built in the twelfth century, although a suggestion has been made that it dates to the early Palaeologan era. In private communication with the authors, Robert Ousterhaut remarked that "St. John in Trullo is a very peculiar church, with an elevation that doesn't correspond to other cross-in-square churches in the city; it may well be later." In times past it showed evidence of frescoes under its whitewash, but these vanished during a restoration in 1960. The four columns had been replaced by piers during the Ottoman period, but in the restoration these were replaced with ancient columns and capitals.

The dome rests on an octagonal ribbed drum pierced by eight windows. The crossarms are barrel-vaulted, and the walls of those to north and south have triple windows. The mullions and capitals of these windows were put back in place during the restoration using spolia.

The building (Fig. 120, Plate XXXV) has three apses that are semicircular both within and without, the only extant church in the city for which this is so. The main apse projects some three meters beyond the body of the church and



119. Plan and section of St. John in Trullo (from Van Millingen)

was divided into three lights by two pilasters with carved capitals. The conch of the apse is described in detail by Robert Ousterhout:

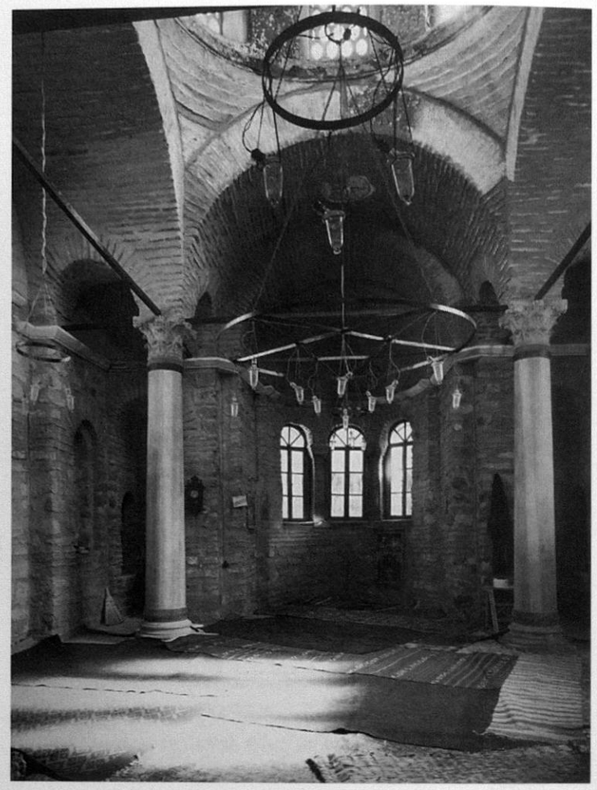
> Here the conch is formed by triangular segments of brick courses to either side, laid at an angle, with bricks forming an arch at the center of the vault. Above these defining elements, the remainder of the conch was constructed in a manner that resembles an uncentered groin vault, built up successively from three sides.[8]

The two apsidal chapels were barrel-vaulted and have one window each, though the diakonikon has been obscured by the *mihrap* of the mosque.

The narthex, which is entered from the south, has three groin vaults, with the entrance to the naos in the central bay. Arcosolia in the narthex were evidently intended for burials.

~

John II Comnenus launched his first campaign in 1119, when he cleared the Selçuks from Ionia, Lydia, and Pamphylia. Then in the year 1121-22 he defeated



120. St. John in Trullo, nave and apse

the Patzinaks, who thenceforth furnished troops to the imperial forces. This victory was long commemorated in Constantinople by an annual holiday known as Patzinak Day.

John fought a war against Venice in the years 1122–5, and then in 1129 he defeated King Stephen II of Hungary. During the years 1137–43, he led a series of campaigns to recapture Antioch from the Latins. On the last of these campaigns, he accidentally wounded himself with a poisoned arrow while hunting, and he died on 8 April 1143. His remains were brought back to Constantinople, where he was laid to rest in the funerary chapel of the Pantokrator beside his wife Eirene.

John was succeeded by his son Manuel (r. 1143–80), who was crowned in Hagia Sophia on 28 November 1143. Manuel's first wife, Eirene, died in 1160 without producing a son. The following year Manuel married Maria of Antioch, described by a chronicler as "the most beautiful princess of her time." Eight years later Maria gave birth to a boy, the future Alexius II, and Manuel finally had a legitimate heir to the throne, having already sired a bastard son by his mistress Theodora, his niece.

During the first three years of his reign, Manuel strengthened the defenses of Constantinople, replacing part of the Theodosian Walls on the Sixth Hill with a new fortification known as the Wall of Manuel Comnenus.

The Wall of Manuel I Comnenus

The original Theodosian Walls come to an end on the north at the imperial Byzantine palace known as Tekfursarayı. There has been much discussion about the original course of the Theodosian Walls from Tekfursarayı down to the Golden Horn. It would appear that they turned almost due north at Tekfursarayı and from there followed a more or less straight course down to the Horn, whereas the existing walls are bent in an arc farther out into Thrace. Stretches of what are undoubtedly the northernmost Theodosian Walls can be seen at Tekfursarayı and also along Mumhane Caddesi, a street that leads north from the little square beside the palace.

The existing wall from Tekfursarayı to the Golden Horn is quite different from the Theodosian fortifications. It is a single bulwark without a moat. To make up for this deficiency, it is thicker and more massive than the main Theodosian fortifications, and its towers are stronger, higher, and closer together.

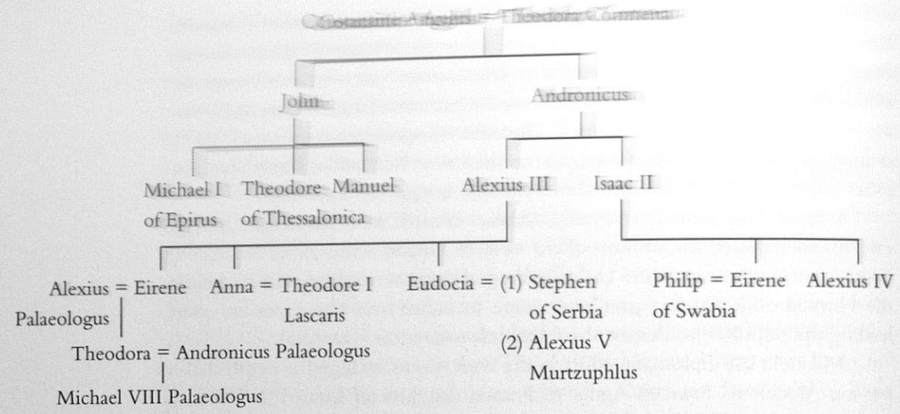
The first stretch of wall beyond Tekfursarayı was built by Manuel I Comnenus (Fig. 121). It begins just beyond Tekfursarayı, where it starts westward



121. The Wall of Manuel I Comnenus

almost at right angles to the last fragment of the Theodosian Wall, after which it [illegible] at the third tower. It is a well-built fortification consisting of eight [illegible] closed on the outer face, studded with three towers and pierced by one [illegible] on the face of the fortification known as Tekfur Sarayı. Between the [illegible] towers and Tekfur Sarayı. The first tower, at the corner of [illegible] is square.

[illegible] the third tower [illegible] Tekfur Sarayı [illegible] Manuel [illegible] Latin [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] Latin [illegible] Blachernai [illegible] Latin [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] Latin [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] Latin [illegible] Byzantine



122. The dynasty of the Angeli, 1185–1204 (from Ostrogorsky)

though they differed in age by half a century, scandalizing both Byzantium and western Europe.

Andronicus soon began a reign of terror, executing anyone he thought might be a threat to the throne. At the same time, the empire came under attack by the Selçuks, the Hungarians, and the Normans, who invaded Greece. The Normans took Thessalonika in the summer of 1185 and then advanced on Constantinople. The populace panicked at the approach of the Latins and castigated Andronicus for not having made adequate preparations for defending the city. Andronicus responded by arresting all of his opponents and condemning them to death. Among them was a distant relative of the Comneni named Isaac Angelus, who escaped from his captors and took refuge in Hagia Sophia, where he called on the populace for support. They responded to his call, and on 12 September 1185 he was raised to the throne as Isaac II (r. 1185–95, 1203–4). Thus began the ephemeral dynasty of the Angeli (Fig. 122), which lasted for less than two decades, a period that led to the Latin Occupation of Constantinople and almost brought the Byzantine Empire to an end.

Andronicus fled, but he was captured and then imprisoned in a tower of the Blachernai Palace. Later he was dragged from his prison and paraded through the streets of the city riding backward on a mule, which brought him to the Hippodrome. There he was mutilated and hacked to death, his body left to rot near the arena for days afterward, until his remains were finally hurled into the sea.

The death of Andronicus brought to an inglorious end the illustrious dynasty of the Comneni, who had ruled over Byzantium for more than a century. But the lineage survived through two grandsons of Andronicus, Alexius and David Comnenus, who escaped and made their way to Trebizond and there began another dynasty, one that would outlast Byzantium itself, though only by a few years.



123. Kalenderhane Camii (Church of the Kyriotissa) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

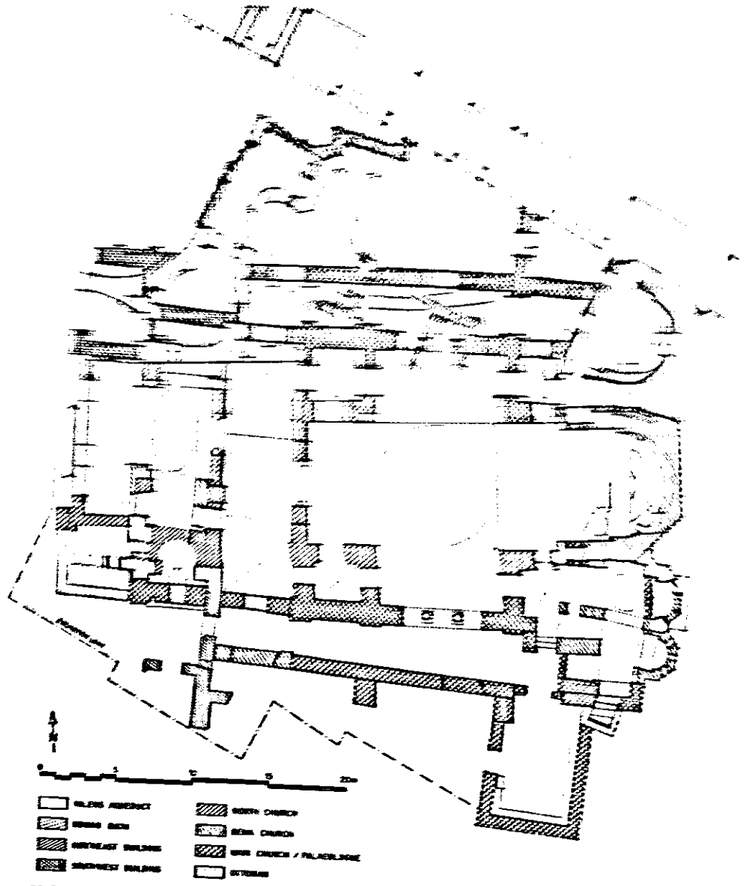
KALENDERHANE CAMII (THE CHURCH OF THE KYRIOTISSA)

There is one church in the city remaining from the period of the Angeli dynasty. This is Kalenderhane Camii (Fig. 123, Plate XXXVI) which stands on the Third Hill near the eastern end of the Valens Aqueduct.

The identity and date of this church were uncertain until the building was excavated and restored in the years 1966–78. This project was under the cosponsorship of Dumbarton Oaks and Istanbul Technical University, the codirectors being Professors Cecil L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban. It established that the present edifice was originally a church erected *c.* 1200, built on the ruins of earlier structures dating back to *c.* 400. It also showed that the church was dedicated to the Theotokos Kyriotissa, Our Lady Mother of God.

The Church of the Kyriotissa was probably taken over by the Latins soon after their conquest of Constantinople in 1204, and it would have reverted to the Greeks after their reconquest of the city in 1261. The building was restored and decorated during the Palaeologan era. The church appears to have been converted into a mosque during the reign of Mehmet II (r. 1451–81), and it came to be known as Kalenderhane Camii, probably because it housed a community of Kalender dervishes. The mosque was repaired in 1746–47 by Beşir Ağa, chief black eunuch in the reign of Mahmud I. It was damaged by fire in 1837 and restored in 1854–5 by a philanthropist named Hacı Kadri. When the restoration of 1966–78 began, the building had been abandoned for some time, but upon the completion of the project, Kalenderhane reopened as a mosque.

The present description, which is based entirely on the work of Striker and Kuban and their associates, deals with the successive structures on the site of Kalenderhane in chronological order (Fig. 124). These are, according to Striker



124. Kalenderhane Camii, summary chronological plan (from Striker and Kuban)

and Kuban, a Roman bath contiguous to the Valens Aqueduct; an Early Byzantine church (the North Church); a Dark Age church (the Bema Church); and finally the Main Church, erected *c.* 1200.

As noted earlier, the aqueduct is conventionally ascribed to the emperor Valens (r. 364–78), although Cyril Mango has suggested, based on literary sources, that it could have been built by Hadrian (r. 117–38). The excavation revealed no conclusive evidence as to whether the aqueduct should be ascribed to Hadrian or Valens. The few fragments of pottery recovered from soundings of a pier in the aqueduct could only be assigned generally to the late fourth or early fifth century.

The Roman bath occupied the western part of the area between the Main Church and the Valens Aqueduct. Its remains consist of three rooms, the vestiges of a fourth, and part of an open court of semicircular form, whose western part

extended beyond the excavation area. The bath was erected *c.* 400 and appears to have remained in use well into the sixth century. It was probably demolished when construction began on the North Church. The remains of the bath are visible in the area north of the present building.

The North Church was the first church to be erected on the site, and it probably formed part of a monastic complex extending to the south. It is called the north Church because of its situation to the north of the Bema Church and the Main Church, its two successors. Coins found in the excavation lead to the conclusion, with some reservation, that the North Church was built during the reign of Justin II (r. 565–78) or slightly later. It was erected parallel to the Valens Aqueduct, two arches of which were incorporated into the supporting structure of the north wall of the nave of the church. The plan of the church was determined to a considerable extent by the constraints of the site and by the necessity of incorporating parts of the aqueduct, the Roman bath, and two structures known as the Northeast Building and the Southwest Building. The Bema Church was erected to the south of the North Church no later than 686–7, as evidenced by coins found on the site.

At some time between the tenth and twelfth century, the North Church was demolished, with only its apse left standing. The main body of the Bema Church remained in use up until the end of the twelfth century, when it was demolished to make way for the present building, the Main Church. Coin finds, particularly four from the reign of Alexius III Angelus (r. 1195–1203), led Striker and Kuban to date the construction of the church to the years 1195–1203.

The new structure occupied the entire area of the excavated site, which is why Striker and Kuban called it the Main Church. They point out that the constraints of the site and the preexisting structures led to irregularities in the plan, so that "no two sides of the quadrilateral are of the same length, neither pairs of its opposite sides are parallel, and none of its corners are right angles."

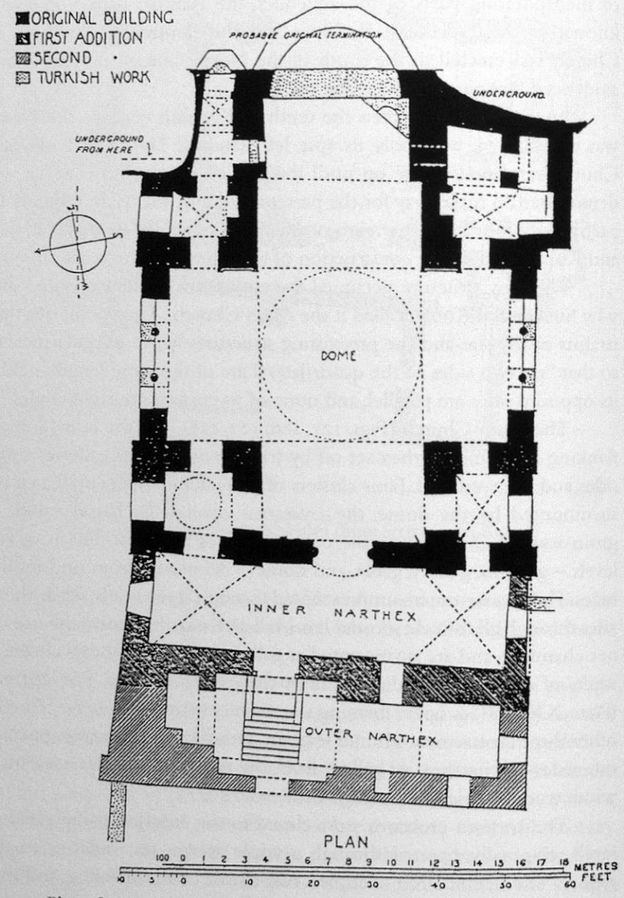
The Main Church (Figs. 125, 126, 127, 128) is of the cross-domed type, the flanking aisles and narthex set off by triple arcades, with galleries above the two sides and the west end. Four clusters of piers define the central area of the naos, surmounted by the dome, the crossarms covered by barrel vaults, with small groin-vaulted chambers in the outer angles of the cross. The naos rises in four levels – ground, gallery, gable, and dome – delineated from one another by cornices. The crossarms rise uninterrupted through three levels, while the central bay rises through all four. At ground level, tall archways lead from the naos to the corner chambers and are surmounted at gallery level by archways above. The barrel vaults of the arms rise directly from the gallery cornice. The eastern crossarm (Plate XXXVII) is open, forming the western part of the bema. The ends of the other three crossarms at ground level are set off by triple arcades opening into the side aisles and narthex. At gallery level, the north and south crossarms have three windows at each level opening to the exterior.

The western crossarm, now closed to the exterior at the gallery and gable levels, originally opened through a triple arcade on mullions to the narthex gallery. The central arch occupied two-thirds of the opening and rose through the gallery into the gable level, while the smaller arches on either side were

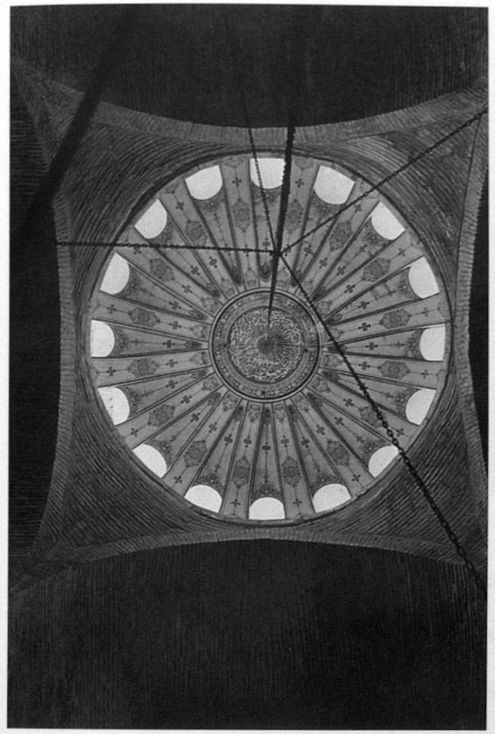
confined to the gallery level, an arrangement corresponding to the domed light well in the narthex.

The dome and its drum, each of which has the same exterior elevation, are part of the original structure of the Main Church. The drum is pierced by sixteen windows between piers, from which slightly tapering ribs rise to the crown. The eave line undulates above the window arches and spandrels. Within, the dome rises continuously from the cornice without a discernable drum zone. The dome is not a true hemisphere, rising nearly a meter higher than its average diameter of five meters.

The bema is rectangular in plan, 6.80 meters wide and 3.40 meters deep. The apse originally enclosed a synthronon, which has been reconstructed with four tiers of seats.



125. Plan of Kalenderhane Camii (from Striker and Kuban)

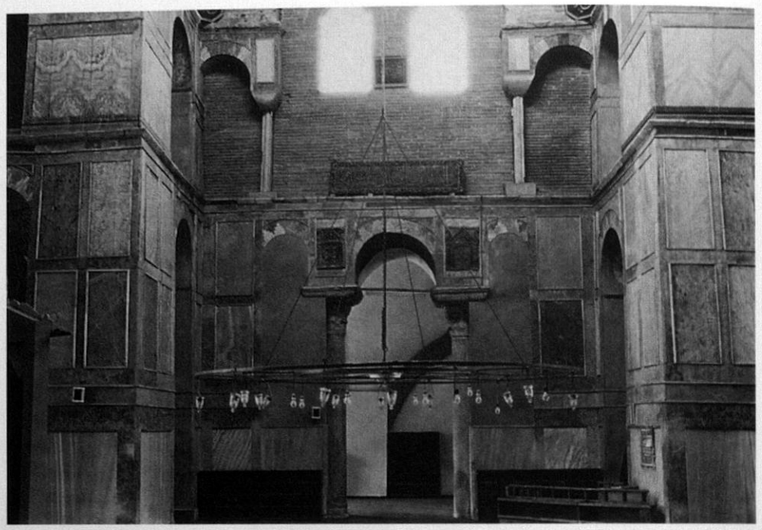


126. Kalenderhane Camii, dome, supporting arches, and pendentives

The flanking walls of the bema had in their western half round-headed doors, the one on the north leading to the northeast corridor and the one on the south to the diakonikon. At gallery level, the bema was overlooked by archways at the east ends of the aisle galleries, their lower part closed with marble parapet slabs.

The diakonikon has been identified as the irregular complex of rooms and chapels adjoining the south side of the bema, now accessible only by an exterior door on the south. It consists of an approximately square western room that has to its east a transverse hall extending 2.5 meters farther to the south than the adjacent room. The east wall of the hall opens into two apsidal chapels situated side by side and projecting to the east. The apsidal space to the north is known as the Francis Chapel and the one to the south is called the Melismos Chapel, both names stemming from the themes of their decoration, which will be described later. Both of these were probably added to the Bema Church in the tenth century, first the Francis chapel and then the Melismos Chapel.

There were originally aisles along the flanks of the naos and narthex. During the Ottoman period, these were modified in two phases, first in the sixteenth century by shortening them, and then in the eighteenth century by



127. Kalenderhane Camii, rear of nave

repressing them altogether, necessitating the blocking off of the triple arcades in the north and south arms. The excavations unearthed remains of the aisles along their full length, preserved in some cases to a height of almost one meter above the original floor levels.

The present church is preceded on the west by inner and outer narthexes. A single door leads from the exterior into the exonarthex, from which three portals lead into the naos. Although both of these narthexes are now one-storey structures, both had second storeys at various times. Both were remodeled when the Main Church was erected. In the present narthex, the north, east, and south walls were completely rebuilt. The present marble doorframe, flanked by columns with capitals, all spolia, probably dates from this reconstruction. The narthex gallery, and probably also that of the exonarthex, was completely rebuilt when the Main Church was reconstructed. The west façade of the exonarthex seems to have been opened at gallery level by three sets of double arcades set off by piers.

The exonarthex was originally preceded by a one-storey porch, 12 meters wide by 4 meters deep. The porch was centered on the west façade of the building, which was displaced about 2.5 meters to the north of the central axis of the naos. Directly to the north of the porch was a tower, at least two storeys high. At ground level the interior of the tower connected with the north bay of the exonarthex through a door.

Thirty-five exterior windows are preserved in the naos, including those around the dome and in the corner chambers, out of about fifty that are estimated to have been in the Main Church originally.

The architectural sculpture from Kalenderhane consists of items *in situ* and items found during the excavation, more than two hundred in all, the majority ranging in date from the sixth century to the twelfth.



128. Kalenderhane Camii, nave, looking southeast

The bema chancel bay vault of the Bema Church is still entirely preserved, but that of the apse survives only in a severely damaged state at the west end. The bema cornice, with its sharply curved profile, is decorated with a dart-and-tongue frieze, beneath which there are astragal and dentil pattern moldings. Examination of this decoration has led to the conclusion that the bema cornice probably dates from the fifth or sixth century, part of the spolia available to the builders of the bema church.

The reused sculpture in the Main Church includes the capitals of the six columns in the triple arcades in the naos, which have been dated to the last third of the fifth century. The melon capitals of the two columns between the narthex and exonarthex have been dated to the second quarter of the sixth century and are thus reused material, as is the door jamb between the columns.

There are two unique decorative plaques on the west wall of the naos, flanking the arch of the central door. These are very similar to plaques in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, and thus it has been concluded that they are spolia dating from the second third of the sixth century. The pair of mullions in the openings between the former western gallery and the naos are also spolia dated to the sixth century.

Fragments of seven or eight Corinthian capitals were unearthed during the excavations, all of them dated to the first half of the fifth century. Four of these capitals bore an inscription on their top surface recording that they belonged to a church dedicated to St. Paul, but the identity and location of this church are uncertain.

The most notable elements of the primary sculptural decoration of the Main Church are the two icon frames on the front of the north and south bema walls. According to Urs Peschlow, the frame on the north is believed to have held an icon depicting the Virgin Kyriotissa, and the one on the south contained a portrait of Christ surrounded by angels.

The polychrome marble wall revetment of Kalenderhane has been praised by foreign travelers since the time of Pierre Gilles, who noted that it was "encrusted with several kinds of marble, curiously variegated."[12] Among the extant Byzantine churches in Istanbul, it compares with the revetment of Kariye Camii and is surpassed only by that of Hagia Sophia. Approximately forty percent of the original marble revetment of the Main Church is preserved, including thirty-three of the estimated seventy-six colored marble plaques that decorated the walls. The surviving panels were restored in marble and are now among the principal adornments of the building.

A number of mosaics and frescoes were discovered during the excavations, some of them of considerable importance for the study of Byzantine art as well as in establishing the dedication of the church and its architectural history.

A completely immured mosaic was discovered in August 1969 during excavation of the northeast corridor, which led between the apses of the North Church and the Main Church. The mosaic, which with its ornamental border was probably 1.30 meters square, portrays the Presentation of Christ, known in Greek as *Hypapante*. Striker dates the mosaic to the reign of Justin II or slightly later, based both on its style and the sequence of construction of the buildings where it was situated. As Striker points out, it is the only Christian mosaic surviving from Constantinople before the Iconoclastic period; it is the earliest representation of the Presentation in Byzantine art, and the second oldest known anywhere, the earliest being that on the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome.

During the excavation of the diakonikon, an immured fresco icon of the Virgin and child was discovered in 1966. The fresco shows the Virgin holding the Christ child directly in front of her, while below in the left corner is the diminutive figure of the donor, a bearded man holding an open scroll, whose inscription is unfortunately illegible. The faces of the Virgin and child are in good condition, while the rest of the fresco has been damaged. Monograms on either side of the Virgin's head identify her as the Theotokos Kyriotissa, thus providing the first evidence that the church was dedicated to her. This was confirmed in 1967, when a fresco with an inscribed image of the Kyriotissa was discovered over the door leading from the exonarthex into the narthex. The diakonikon Kyriotissa has been dated to the early twelfth century, and if this is correct, then it is the only Constantinopolitan painting surviving from this period.

The fresco over the door to the narthex, which is very fragmentary, shows the Kyriotissa with angels. This has been dated to the early Palaeologan period.

It was probably done soon after the Greek recapture of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261.

The remains of a mosaic of the Archangel Michael were uncovered in 1967, on the west reveal of a blocked-off door between the diakonikon and bema of the main church. What survives of the figure of St. Michael, most of his head and the right side of his body, is in excellent condition. The mosaic has been assigned to the primary decoration of the Main Church and is thus dated *c.* 1200, making it the latest surviving example of mural painting in the city before the Latin Conquest.

Excavation of the diakonikon in 1967 unearthed the apsidal chapel to the south of the Main Church and revealed a very fragmentary fresco, most of which had to be reassembled from pieces found in the earth fill taken out of the site. The composition proved to be a cycle of the Life of St. Francis of Assisi painted on the semidome of the apse above three windows set off by mullions, with a frescoed inscription from Psalms on the arch above. Fragments of eight of the ten original scenes of the cycle survive. One easily identifiable scene was that of St. Francis Preaching to the Birds, while another probably depicted the death of the saint. The other recognizable scenes apparently portrayed miracles that he performed.

The Kalenderhane fresco cycle of St. Francis must have been painted before the Greek reconquest of the city in 1261. Thus it is among the earliest cycles of St. Francis, predating those in Assisi. The cycle must have been done in the period between the canonization of St. Francis in 1228 and the end of the Latin occupation in 1261. A more definite date is suggested by Hugo Buchthal's hypothesis, which is that the style of the fresco is the same as that of the Paris Arsenal Bible, which was commissioned by King Louis IX during his stay in the Holy Land in the years 1250–54.

The Francis Chapel was walled off soon after the Greek reconquest of the city in 1261. Subsequently, during the Palaeologan era, the rest of the diakonikon was redecorated, including the west hall, the vaulted east hall, and the Melismos and Icons Chapels, the latter being the quadrant vault adjoining the southwest corner of the east hall. Only the mosaic of the Archangel Michael was preserved from the preexisting decoration of the diakonikon. All of the Palaeologan frescoes were covered with plaster during the Ottoman period, and the plaster was removed during the restoration. The frescoes were, for the most part, poorly preserved, but from what has survived it was possible to obtain a general idea of the program. According to Striker, the program in the west room was devoted to a gallery of male and female saints. All were originally identified by inscriptions, now lost, and of the approximately twenty saints included in the original program, only Constantine and Helena can be identified (by the cross held between them).

The Ottoman barrel vault in the east hall of the diakonikon obscures much of its wall surface, and there is so little of the fresco surface surviving elsewhere in the hall that not much is known about the program here. One identifiable fresco was a scene on the upper north wall, a depiction of the *koimesis* (Dormition of the Virgin), only the left part of which is preserved. The small Melismos Chapel is named for the poorly preserved fresco found there. This is a scene of the type

known as *melismos,* in which the Christ child lies directly on the altar rather than in a chalice. In this *melimos,* he is flanked by two bishops. Above, in the semidome of the chapel, was a bust figure of the Virgin of the Blachernitissa type with the Christ child.

The best-preserved figures in the diakonikon program are in the Icons Chapel, so called for its gallery of trompe-l'oeil icons of saints, complete with their frames and suspension rings and the nails on which they were hung. Originally there were seven icons, of which three have been identified by their inscriptions as St. John Climacus, St. John Damascene, and St. Cosmas the Poet.

The diakonikon was walled off in the final stages of the restoration, and so now it can be seen only by persuading the imam of the mosque to unlock the exterior door that gives access to it. Most of the works of art in Kalenderhane have been removed to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, where the fresco cycle of the life of St. Francis, the mosaic icon of the presentation, and the fresco icon of the Kyriotissa are exhibited in the gallery devoted to Istanbul through the Ages.

Kalenderhane Camii is now once again a working mosque. The restoration has preserved the Byzantine character of the building, a watershed in the architectural history of the city, built in its present form just before the Latin Conquest and renovated at the beginning of the Palaeologan era.

∽ II

The Latin Occupation

When Isaac II Angelus came to the throne in 1185, the Latins were marching on Constantinople. But within a year he defeated the invaders and forced them to return to Italy.

Isaac was thirty years old when he became emperor, a widower with two daughters and a son, the future Alexius IV. His daughter Eirene was married in 1192 to King Roger of Sicily, who died eighteen months after their wedding. Then in 1197 Eirene married Philip of Swabia, brother of the German emperor Henry VI.

Two years after Isaac came to the throne, he had to deal with the onset of the Third Crusade, but the German contingent under Frederick Barbarossa passed through Constantinople without incident.

Isaac was overthrown in the summer of 1195 by his younger brother, who was crowned in Hagia Sophia as Alexius III (r. 1195–1203). The new emperor then blinded Isaac and imprisoned him in a tower of the Blachernai Palace along with his son Alexius. The young Alexius eventually escaped from his uncle and took refuge with his sister Irene and her husband, Philip of Swabia, after which he began making appeals in the West to have his father restored to the throne of Byzantium.

Pope Innocent III succeeded to the papal throne in January 1198, and in August he issued an encyclical calling for a fourth crusade, which was to be led by Boniface of Montferrat and Baldwin of Flanders. Envoys of the French counts went to Venice to arrange with Doge Enrico Dandolo and his council for ships to transport the crusaders overseas. The Venetians set a price on the transports that they would supply, also contributing fifty of their own warships fully manned, on the condition that Venice should share equally with the crusaders in any conquests made in the campaign.

The crusader leaders were short of money when they arrived in Italy and were unable to pay the Venetians the sum they had agreed on. But Doge Dandolo struck a deal with them, in which Venice would defer payment of the remaining passage money if the crusaders helped them to recapture the Dalmatian city of Zara, which had defected to the Hungarians. The knights agreed, whereupon they embarked at Venice on 8 September 1202, bound for Zara in a Venetian fleet of 480 ships led by the galley of Doge Dandolo.

The fleet reached Zara on 10 November and attacked the city, which surrendered after a two-week siege. The garrison and populace were unharmed, but the Latins stripped the city of its movable possessions, dividing the loot among themselves. It was then too late in the season to sail on to the Aegean, so the expedition wintered in Zara.

Boniface joined the crusaders at Zara in mid-December. Two weeks later envoys arrived bearing a message from young Alexius Angelus, promising that if the expedition restored his father Isaac to the Byzantine throne, he would agree to a union of the Greek and Roman churches under the papacy. Moreover he would give a huge sum of money to the Latins, as well as pay all of their expenses for a year. The crusaders accepted the offer, and Doge Dandolo agreed to divert the expedition to Constantinople.

The Latin fleet finally reached the Bosphorus on 24 June 1203, and after breaking the chain that closed the harbor, the crusaders sailed up the Golden Horn, bombarding the sea walls, and set up their encampment outside the land walls at Blachernai.

After preparing their forces, the crusaders attacked Constantinople on 17 July, concentrating their assault on the sea walls along the Golden Horn. Doge Dandolo stood on the bow of his flagship with the banner of St. Mark unfurled before him, and his men put him ashore as they made their attack on the walls of the Petrion, a fortified enclosure on the shore of the Golden Horn below the Fifth Hill. They succeeded in capturing twenty-five towers of the sea walls. Then, throwing down burning brands to set fire to the houses inside the fortifications, they destroyed the entire quarter on the north slope of the Fifth Hill.

As soon as night fell, Alexius III escaped from the city, taking with him 10,000 gold pieces and the crown jewels. That same night Isaac II was released from his prison tower in the Blachernai Palace and restored to the throne, though he was blind from the mutilation that had been inflicted upon him by Alexius III. The Latins were informed of this change of regime, and Isaac pledged to honor all of the commitments that his son Alexius had made to the crusaders. The Byzantines then opened the gates of the city, and the Latins marched into Constantinople, bringing Isaac's son Alexius with them. The following day the Latins withdrew their troops from the city in order to avoid a riot by the populace. Isaac's son was raised to the throne as Alexius IV (r. 1203–4) and crowned as co-emperor with his father in Hagia Sophia on 1 August 1203.

Alexius IV soon became very unpopular among the people of Constantinople, for he spent all of his time carousing with the Latins who had placed him on the throne. At the same time, the Latins were growing increasingly impatient with him, for he was unable to make good on the extravagant promises he had made. Therefore they began seizing gold and silver objects from the churches of the city. A riot broke out on 19 August, when a mob stormed the Latin quarter on the Golden Horn, starting a fire that spread as far as the summit of the First Hill and damaged the porch of Hagia Sophia, which added to the frustrated rage of the populace.

Early the following year the people of Constantinople forced Alexius IV to abdicate in favor of Alexius Ducas Murtzuphlus, a great-great-grandson of Alexius I Comnenus. On 4 February 1204, Murtzuphlus was crowned as Alexius V,

and soon afterward he quietly did away with both Alexius IV and Isaac II. As soon as he was in full control, Murtzuphlus sent a message to the crusaders telling them to clear out of his territory within a week. Then, after one last futile meeting with Dandolo, he began making preparations to defend the city against a renewed Latin assault.

The Latins began their assault on 9 April 1204, making their first attack on the land walls outside the Blachernai Palace. The assault was repelled, but the Latins attacked again three days later and gained a foothold on the sea walls along the Golden Horn. They then broke through the gates in the sea walls, which allowed the mounted knights to disembark from the Venetian ships and enter the city, where they assembled in a large force at the foot of the Fifth Hill. The German count Berthold set several fires to keep off the Byzantines while he looted the houses on the Fifth Hill, and the blaze spread to destroy most of the buildings along the Golden Horn. This was the third great conflagration to burn Constantinople within the year. The three fires together destroyed about half of all the buildings in the city.

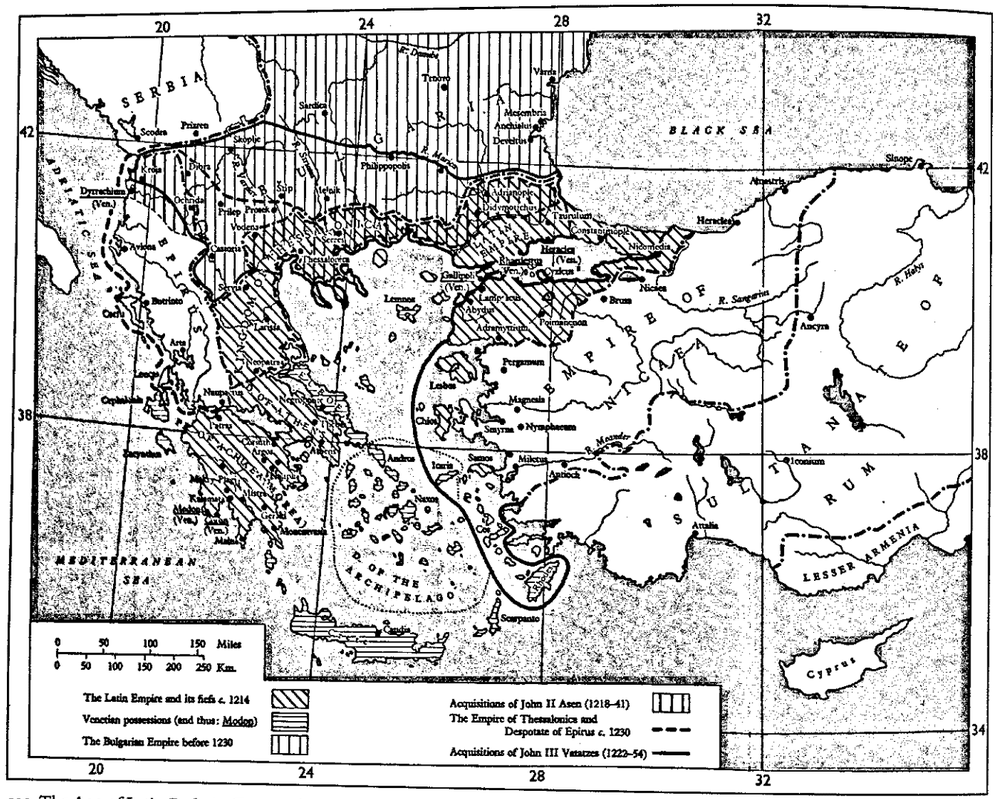
Murtzuphlus gathered his family and retainers and fled from the city under cover of night. He was captured by the Latins later that year and brought back to Constantinople, where he was hurled to his death from the top of the Column of Theodosius.

Meanwhile the Latins took control of Constantinople, killing some 2,000 Greeks in the process. They then proceeded to sack the city for three days and carried away works of art and precious relics that eventually made their way to western Europe, adding further to the destruction of their previous assaults. Niketas Choniates mourned the ruin of the city in his *Historia*, patterning his lament on that of Jeremiah and the Psalms:

> Oh, city, city, eye of all cities, subject of narratives over all the world, spectacle above the world, supporter of churches, leader of faith, guide of orthodoxy, protector of education, abode of all good! Thou has drunk to the dregs the cup of the anger of the Lord and has been visited with fire fiercer that which in days of yore was visited upon the Pentapolis.[1]

Choniates also writes of how the Latins looted and profaned Hagia Sophia:

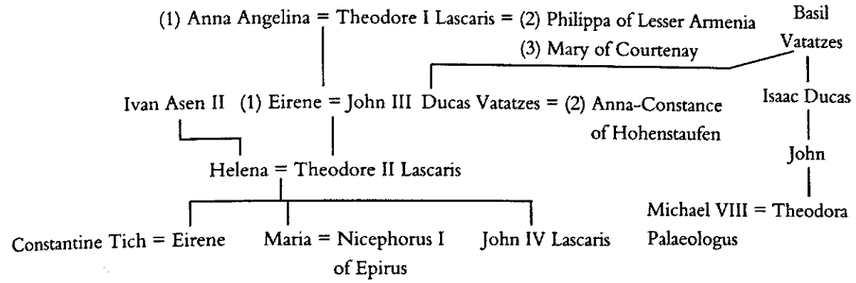
> They destroyed the high altar, a work of art admired by the entire world, and shared out the pieces among themselves. And they brought horses and mules into the church, the better to carry off the holy vessels and the engraved silver and gold they had torn off from the throne and the pulpit . . . . A common harlot was enthroned in the patriarch's chair, to hurl insults at Jesus Christ, and she sang bawdy songs and profaned the holy place . . . nor was there any mercy shown to virtuous maidens, innocent maids or even virgins consecrated to God. . . . In the streets, houses and churches there could be heard only cries and lamentations. . . . Here and there fights and quarrels broke out over loot, there prisoners were being led away, and everywhere among the raped and wounded lay the dead.[2]



129. The Age of Latin Rule in Constantinople, 1204–61 (from Ostrogorsky)

The leading knights met to choose an emperor on the evening of 9 May 1204, forming a committee of twelve, half of them Venetians. The first ballot was nine votes for Baldwin of Flanders and three for Boniface of Montferrat. Boniface's supporters eventually threw in their hand and gave their support to Baldwin, who was thus unanimously elected in the next ballot. The following day Baldwin was crowned as emperor in Hagia Sophia, after which he moved into the Palace of Boukoleon.

The Latins then partitioned the Byzantine Empire in an agreement signed in October 1204. The treaty divided the empire into three major shares: a quarter for the Latin emperor, and three-eights each for the Venetians and the other crusaders, with the portion of each benificiary further divided into a share near Constantinople and a share more remote. Thus began the Latin empire that came to be known as Romania, the "kingdom of the Romans," which had its capital at Constantinople for fifty-seven years (Fig. 129).



130. The dynasty of the Lascaris, 1204–61 (from Ostrogorsky)

Doge Dandolo, who styled himself "Lord and Despot of a quarter and half a quarter of the Roman Empire," received Hagia Sophia as part of the Venetian share. Dandolo ruled only briefly over his fractional principality, for he died in May 1205 and was buried in Hagia Sophia. Roman Catholic clergy under the Venetian cardinal Thomas Morosini took charge of Hagia Sophia, erecting a campanile on the south side of the church. The Venetians also took control of the Church of the Kyriotissa and the Monastery of the Pantokrator, which served as their headquarters throughout the Latin occupation.

The emperor Baldwin's rule was also brief, for on 14 April 1205 he was defeated in Thrace by the Bulgar tsar Kalojan, dying not long afterward in a Bulgarian prison. Baldwin's brother, Henry of Hainault, served as regent until 20 August 1206, when he was crowned emperor in Hagia Sophia. The coronation was performed by the new Latin patriarch of Constantinople, the Venetian Thomas Morosini. Most of the Greek Orthodox bishops in Constantinople either refused to obey Morosini or else fled from the city to Nicaea, where a fragment of the Byzantine Empire was now developing in exile. This was one of three Byzantine states that emerged after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the others being the Empire of Trebizond and the Despotate of Epirus.

The Empire of Nicaea was founded by Theodore I Lascaris (Fig. 130), a son-in-law of Alexius III Angelus. Two years later he appointed a patriarch, Michael Autoreanos, who then crowned Theodore (r. 1204–22) as emperor in the church of Hagia Sophia at Nicaea. Thenceforth the Greeks in western Asia Minor came to regard Nicaea as the capital of the Byzantine Empire in exile.

During the next half century, the Lascarid dynasty, ruled brilliantly in Nicaea, beginning a renaissance of Byzantine culture, while a series of half a dozen ineffective rulers succeeded one another on the throne of the Latin kingdom in Constantinople. The fourth and last of the Laskaris emperors was John IV (r. 1258–61), who was only midway through his eighth year when his father, Theodore II (r. 1254–58), died on 15 August 1258. Just before he died, Theodore appointed George Murzalon as regent for his son. But nine days later a group of nobles of Nicaea assassinated Murzalon and replaced him as regent with their acknowledged leader, Michael Palaeologus, who was given the title of grand

duke. Three months later, Palaeologus was named despot, and then in December he was proclaimed co-emperor. Early the following year, the patriarch performed the double coronation of Michael VIII Palaeologus (r. 1259–82) and John IV Lascaris. Michael Palaeologus was crowned first, for there was no doubt in anyone's mind that he was the real emperor. Soon afterward Michael blinded John and had him confined to a monastery, where he spent the rest of his days.

The following year Michael won a great victory over a coalition of Latin forces at the battle of Pelagonia in northwestern Asia Minor. This victory crippled all but one of the enemies of Byzantium, the remaining adversary being the Republic of Venice. Michael thus sought the aid of Genoa, which had long been the principal rival of Venice. On 13 March 1261, he signed a treaty with the Genoese that gave them extensive commercial privileges in return for their support, thus establishing an alliance that lasted for the remaining two centuries of Byzantine history.

The recapture of Constantinople occurred almost by chance in the summer of 1261, when Michael Palaeologus sent a small force under Alexius Strategopulus to reconnoitre the environs of the city. When Strategopulus crossed the straits, he found that Constantinople was virtually unprotected, since the Venetian fleet had left with most of the Latin garrison on a raid along the Black Sea coast. He approached the city under the cover of night, and some of his men made their way through a secret passageway under the walls by the Gate of the Pege. They surprised the guards inside the gate, which they forced open to allow their comrades in before the alarm was raised. Early the following day, 25 July 1261, Strategopulus gained control of the city after some street-fighting with the remnants of the Latin garrison. The noise awakened the emperor Baldwin I, who had been sleeping in the Blachernai Palace, whereupon he rushed aboard a Venetian ship in the port and ordered it to sail away at once, leaving his crown and his sceptre behind him in his apartment. When the Latin fleet returned, the Venetians found their homes and warehouses in flames and their families milling about on the shore of the Golden Horn "like smoked-out bees," according to one chronicler. All that the Venetians could do was to take their families aboard the galleys. They then sailed away, ending the Latin occupation of Constantinople.

The emperor Michael was more than 200 miles away in Greece when he received the news. He immediately struck camp and headed for Constantinople. He arrived at the Theodosian Walls on 14 August and set up his tent outside the city, delaying his formal entry through the Golden Gate until the following day, the Feast of the Assumption. Early the next morning, the metropolitan of Cyzicus, George Kelidas, mounted one of the towers of the Golden Gate and held up the sacred icon of the Hodegitria. He then recited prayers while the emperor and his entourage fell to their knees, along with the great crowd of local Greeks who had come to welcome Michael to the city that he was now about to see for the first time.

The Byzantine Empire was thus restored to its ancient capital on the Bosphorus, beginning its last two centuries of existence under the first of the Palaeologus emperors.

12

THE PALAEOLOGUS DYNASTY

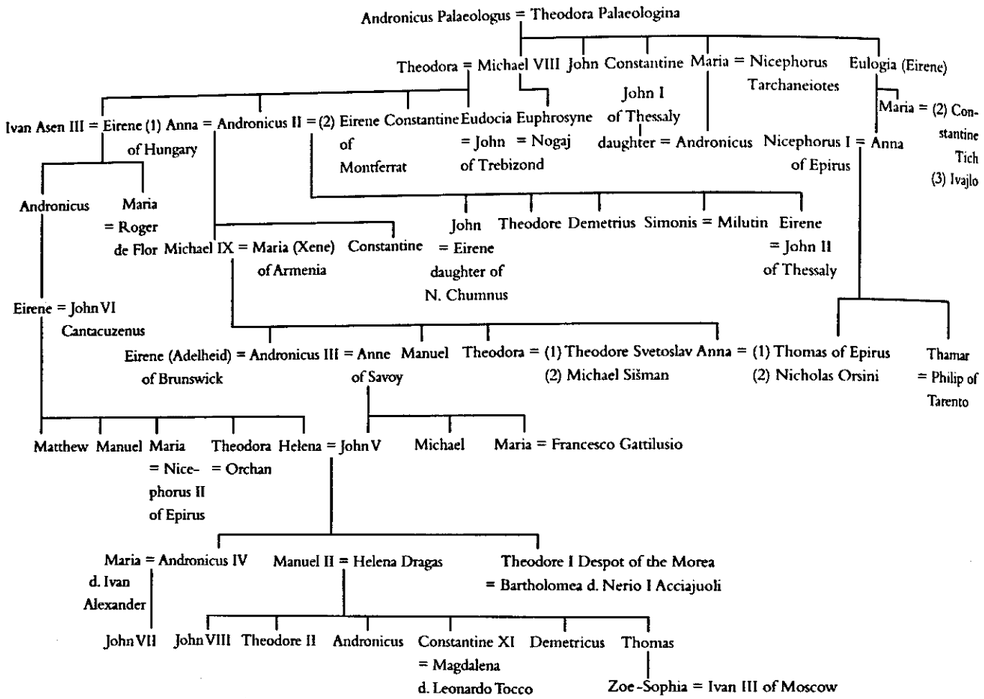
The Palaeologus emperors were the last dynasty (Fig. 131) to rule Byzantium, which was a dying empire during the two centuries of their reign, crumbling to pieces under the onslaught of the Ottoman Turks and torn asunder by internal strife. Nonetheless, the empire flourished culturally and flowered in a last renaissance. The architectural legacy of this period includes two churches whose mosaics and frescoes make up the major part of the city's legacy of Byzantine art.

Michael VIII Palaeologus made his triumphal entry into Constantinople through the Golden Gate on the morning of 15 August 1261. He then attended a thanksgiving service in the Church of St. John of Studius before going in procession to Hagia Sophia. There he escorted the patriarch Arsenius to the patriarchal throne once occupied by St. John Chrysostom, a scene described by the historian George Akropolites thus:

> The emperor entered the holy building, the Temple of Divine Wisdom, in order that he might hand over the cathedra to the prelate. And finally there assembled with the emperor all of the archons and the entire multitude. Then the emperor, taking the arm of the patriarch, said, "Take your throne now, O lord, and enjoy it, that of which you were so long deprived."[1]

After his triumphal return to Constantinople, Michael Palaeologus was crowned once again in Hagia Sophia, with his wife Theodora enthroned as empress. At the same time their two-year-old son Andronicus was crowned as co-emperor and proclaimed as heir presumptive to the throne.

Constantinople was a ruined and half-abandoned city when it was reestablished as capital of the Byzantine Empire (Fig. 132). Besides the destruction caused in the sack of 1204, the city had been seared by four major fires during the Latin occupation. Also the Latin emperors had left the Great Palace of Byzantium in appalling condition, while many of the city's churches had been allowed to fall

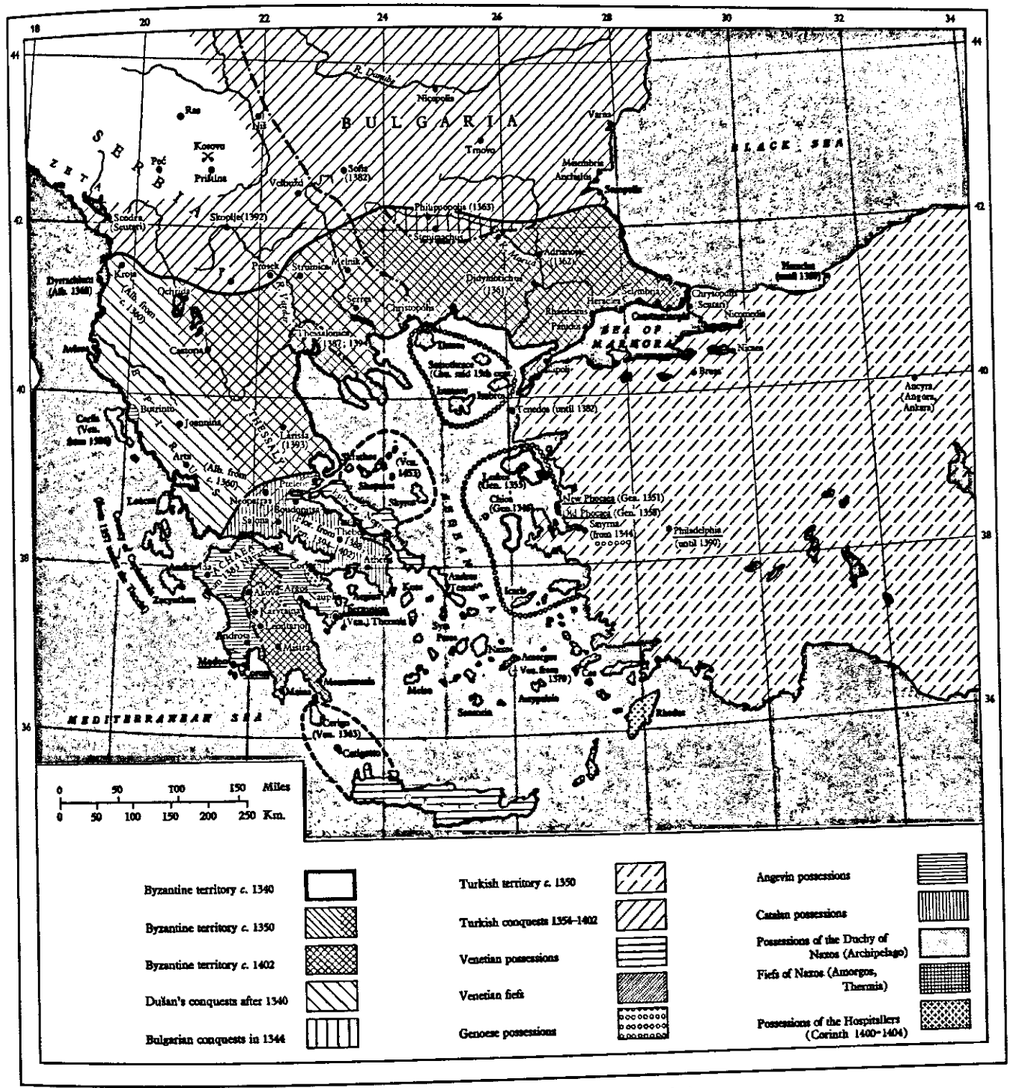


131. The Palaeologan dynasty, 1261–1453, (from Ostrogorsky)

into ruin. The condition of Constantinople after its recapture is described by Nikephoros Gregoras, writing in his *Romaiki Historia:*

> Constantinople was then an enormous desolate city, full of ruins and stones, razed to the ground. . . . Enslaved, it had received no care from the Latins, except destruction of every kind day and night. The first and foremost task facing the emperor was as much as possible to cleanse the city and transfer its great disorder into good order; to strengthen all the churches which had completely collapsed, and to fill the emptied houses with people.[2]

The Great Palace on the Marmara shore of the First Hill was abandoned in favor of the Palace of Blachernai, which became the principal imperial residence during the last two centuries of Byzantium. Early in the Palaeologan era, a new palace was built on the Sixth Hill, some 400 meters to the south of the Palace of Blachernai. This structure, built into the northernmost stretch of the Theodosian Walls on the Sixth Hill, is known to the Turks as Tekfursarayı, the Palace of the Sovereign, while in English it is called the Palace of the Porphyrogenitus.



132. The collapse of the Byzantine Empire in the fourteenth century (from Ostrogorsky)

TEKFURSARAYI

The English name of the palace (Fig. 133, Plate XXXVIII) stems from the belief, held by Van Millingen and other scholars of his era, that it was erected by Constantine VIII Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century. This identification has since been abandoned, and the palace is now dated to the late thirteenth or early

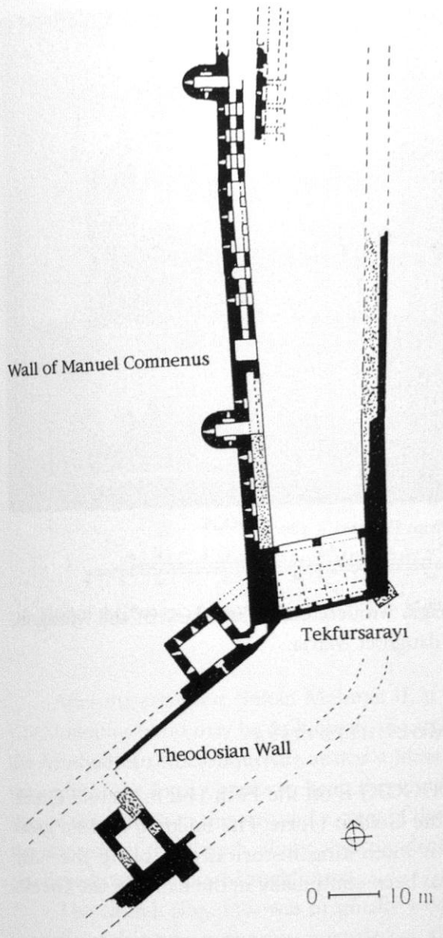


133. The Late Byzantine palace known as Tekfursarayı

fourteenth century, when it was probably built as an annex to the nearby Palace of Blachernai. Its close proximity to the walls caused the palace to be damaged badly during the last siege in 1453. After the Ottoman Conquest, it was repaired and used for a variety of purposes.

Tekfursarayı (Fig. 134) is a large three-storey building originally wedged in between the inner and outer fortifications of the northernmost extant stretch of the Theodosian Walls, at a point where they turned due north toward the Golden Horn. On the ground floor an arcade with four wide arches, carried on two sets of double columns between massive masonry piers, opens onto the courtyard, which is formed by the outer city wall and the last stretch of the inner wall. The courtyard is overlooked on the first floor by five large windows. The top floor, which projects above the city walls, has windows on all sides, seven on the north and south and two on the east and west. There is a curious bowlike apse on the south side, the remains of a small chapel, corbelled out from the hall on the upper floor. There is also a window with the remains of a balcony on the east. The roof and all of the floors have disappeared. The whole palace, but particularly the façade on the court, is elaborately decorated with geometrical designs in red and white marble, so typical of the later period of Byzantine architecture under the Palaeologus emperors.

The plan and decorative style of the palace led Krautheimer to date Tekfursarayı to the first third of the fourteenth century. Mango proposed that it was

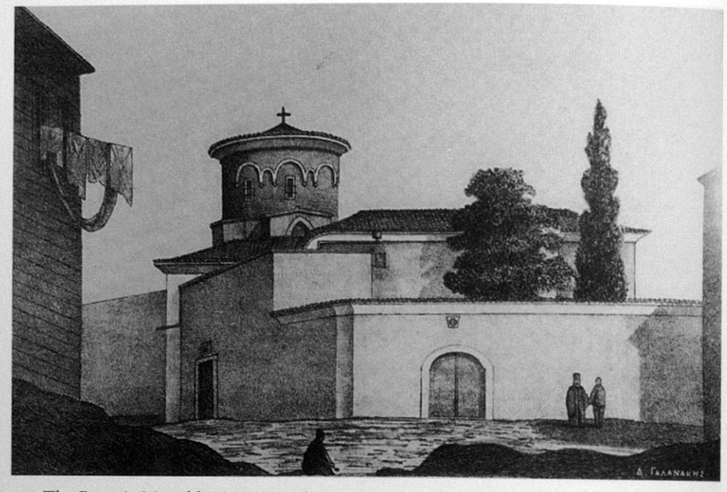


134. Plan of Tekfursarayı and adjacent land walls (from Müller-Weiner, after Meyer-Plath and Schneider)

built early in the Palaeologan period and associated it with Constantine, the son of Michael VIII. Velenis and Ousterhaut suggested a mid-fourteenth century origin based on stylistic evidence.

∽

Among the churches restored during Michael's reign was that of the Theotokos tou Libos, also known as the Monastery of Constantine Lips. This was refounded by the empress Theodora, who added the south church as a funerary chapel, in which she was interred when she died in 1304. Another church dating from



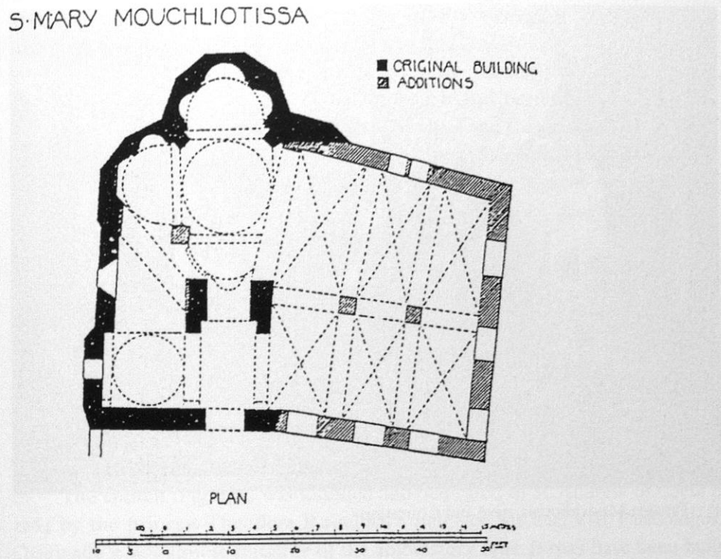
135. The Panagia Mouchliotissa (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

Michael's reign is that of the Panagia Mouchliotissa, St. Mary of the Mongols, founded by Michael's illegitimate daughter Maria.

Church of the Panagia Mouchliotissa

This little church (Fig. 135, Plate XXXIX) is on the Fifth Hill in the old Greek quarter of the Fener, overlooking the Golden Horn. The building is of no great distinction architecturally, but it is interesting historically as being the only Byzantine church in the city that has been continually in the hands of the Greeks since before the Turkish Conquest.

The church was either founded or rebuilt *c.* 1282 by the princess Maria Palaeologina, an illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII Palaeologus. (It has been suggested that the princess Maria merely rebuilt an earlier church and monastery dedicated to the Theotokos the Panagiotissa, the Mother of God the All Holy, which may have been in existence in the eleventh century and possibly even the tenth.) In 1265 Maria was sent off by her father as a bride to Hulagu, the grand khan of the Mongols. Hulagu died before Maria arrived at the Mongol court, so she was married instead to his son and successor, Abagu. Maria lived at the Mongol court in Persia for about fifteen years, and through her influence the khan and many of his court became Christians. But then, in 1281, Abagu was assassinated by his brother Ahmet, who seized the throne, and Maria was forced to return to Constantinople. After Maria's return, she founded the present church, together with a convent, and dedicated it to the Theotokos Panagia Mouchliotissa, the All-Holy Mother of God of the Mongols. Maria, the Despoina (Lady) of the Mongols, thereupon became a nun and spent her last years in retirement in the convent that she had founded.



136. Plan of the Panagia Mouchliotissa (from Van Millingen)

After the conquest, Sultan Mehmet II, at the request of his Greek architect Christodoulos (who may be Atik Sinan, the architect of the original Fatih Camii, the Mosque of the Conqueror), issued a *firman,* or imperial decree, confirming the right of the local Greeks to keep this church. The Greeks remain in possession of the church to this day, and a copy of the conqueror's *firman* is displayed on the rear wall of the church, along with the decrees of later sultans confirming the privileged status of the Mouchliotissa.

The church (Fig. 136) was originally a domed quatrefoil building, the only example of that type in the city, preceded on the west by a narthex of three bays, perhaps a later addition in the Byzantine era. The central dome rested on a cross formed by four semidomes, further enlarged below the vaulting level by three large semicircular niches. But the entire southern side of the church was swept away in modern times and replaced by a squarish addition to the narthex that extends to the south of the original structure, out of line with the original building in every direction. The modern reconstruction eliminated the southern semidome and the southern bay of the narthex and added a hall with three aisles of two bays each. The reconstruction also included the belfry and porch in front of the narthex, the subsidiary buildings on the south side of the courtyard, and the high wall that surrounds the entire precinct to the west and south of the church.

The entrance to the naos (Fig. 137, Plate XL) is by a door in what was originally the central bay of the narthex. The door opens into a passage cut into the central niche of the western semidome. The two bays flanking the original central bay of the narthex open into the area under the northern and southern



137. Panagia Mouchliotissa, nave and iconostasis

semidomes via aisles that originally terminated in diagonal arches, of which the one to the south was eliminated in the modern reconstruction.

∽

The territory ruled by Michael VIII was only a small fraction of what the Byzantine Empire had been in its prime. It now comprised northwestern Asia Minor, most of the Aegean isles and the southern Balkans, and all of Greece except for Athens and the Peloponnesus, which was under Latin control. And even this truncated realm would soon be reduced under the onslaught of the enemies who surrounded the empire, particularly the new power that had arisen in northwestern Asia Minor, the Ottoman Turks.

The enormous effort of rebuilding and repopulating Constantinople brought the empire to the brink of bankruptcy. As an economy measure, Michael reduced the Byzantine armed forces and relied on his Genoese allies to protect Byzantium with their fleet in return for a monopoly on maritime commerce in the empire. The Genoese were allotted land across the Golden Horn from Constantinople in Galata, where they established an autonomous city-state governed by a *podesta* sent out each year by the mother-city of Genoa. The Genoese fortified Galata, and the stronghold of their defenses was the Galata Tower, which was erected in 1348 and still dominates the skyline above the northern shore of the Golden Horn.

Michael Palaeologus died on 11 December 1282 while on campaign in Thrace. His eldest son, Andronicus, was present at his bedside, and Michael's last words were to confirm him as his successor. After burying his father, the new

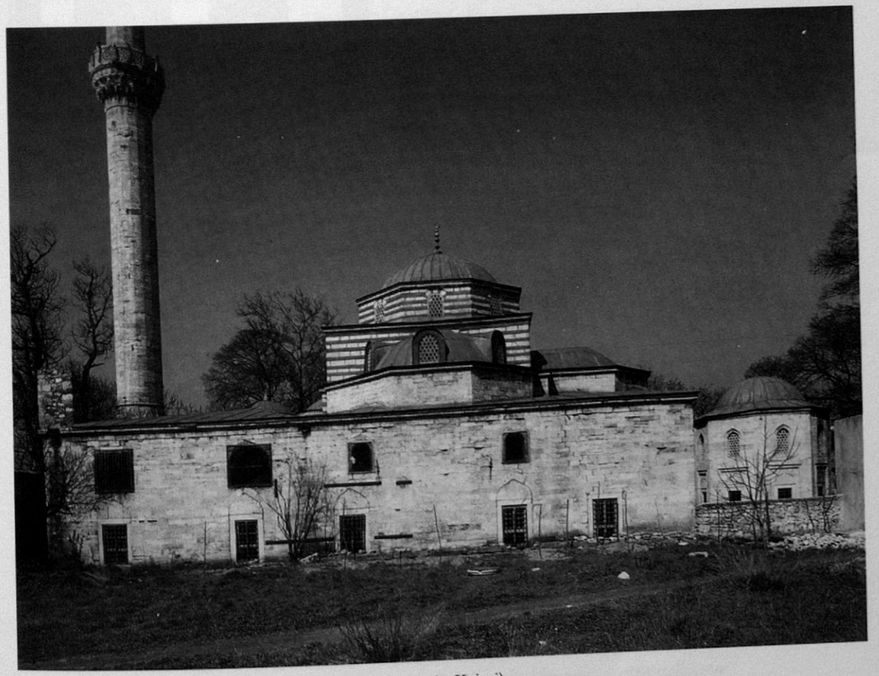
emperor returned to Constantinople, where he was crowned in Hagia Sophia as Andronicus II (r. 1282–1328).

Andronicus was twenty-three when he came to the throne, after having been co-emperor for more than twenty years. He had been married in 1272 to Anna of Hungary, who bore him two sons, Michael and Constantine. Andronicus had his eldest son crowned co-emperor as Michael IX (r. 1294–1320) on 21 May 1294. The following year Michael married the princess Rita of Armenia, who then changed her name to Maria. Maria bore Michael two daughters and two sons, the eldest of the boys being the future Andronicus III.

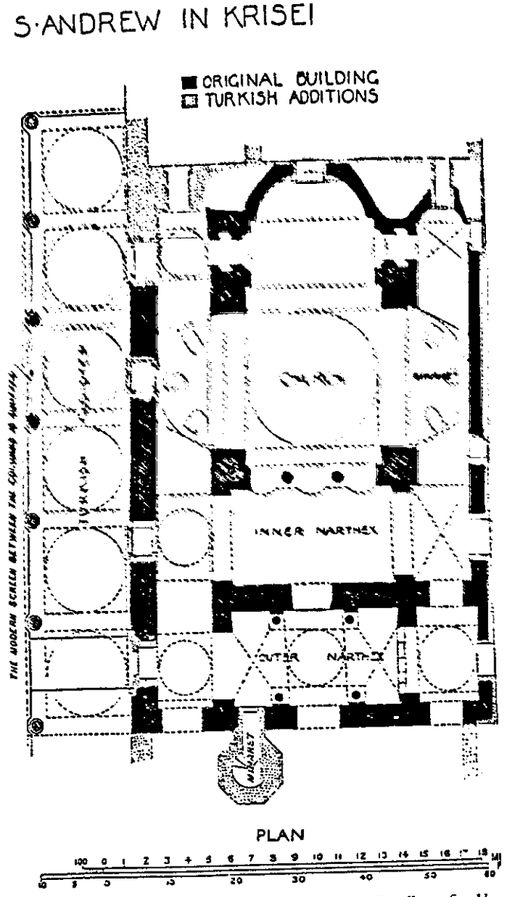
Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii (Church of St. Andrew in Krisei)

On the Seventh Hill there is a Byzantine church that may date in foundation or rebuilding to the reign of Andronicus II. This is Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii, which has been identified as the former Church of St. Andrew in Krisei.

The church (Fig. 138) was founded and dedicated to St. Andrew of Crete *c.* 1284 by the princess Theodora Raoulina, a neice of Michael VIII Palaeologus. Originally it was almost certainly of the ambulatory type. It may have been built



138. Koca Mustafa Pasa Camii (Church of St. Andrew in Krisei)



139. Plan of Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii (from Rodley, after Van Millingen)

on the foundations of an earlier church dedicated to St. Andrew the Apostle, and it certainly reused sixth-century material, especially capitals. The church was converted into a mosque early in the sixteenth century by Koca Mustafa Paşa (also known as Atik Mustafa Paşa), grand vezir in the reign of Beyazit II. The structure was rebuilt after its conversion to a mosque, and its exterior is entirely Ottoman.

When the church (Fig. 139) was converted into a mosque, the interior arrangements were reoriented by ninety degrees because of the direction in which the building was laid out. Thus the mihrap and mimber are under the semidome against the south wall, and the entrance is in the north wall, in front of which a wooden porch was added in the Ottoman period. After passing through the porch, one enters the naos through a door at the east end of the north aisle, from where one should proceed directly to the central bay of the narthex in order to see the parts of the church in the same order as those who entered it in Byzantine times.

The narthex has three bays, flanked by the western bays of the north and south aisles. The two side bays of the narthex itself are groin-vaulted, while the central bay is covered by a small saucer dome on pendentives. This bay is separated from those on either side by four columns with beautiful sixth-century capitals of the pseudo-Ionic type, resembling those in the galleries of SS. Sergius and Bacchus.

The two outer bays of the north and south aisles are separated from the three bays of the narthex by strongly projecting pilasters. These bays are covered by low saucer domes similar to the dome over the central bay of the narthex.

From the central bay of the narthex, a portal opens into a sort of inner narthex, separated from the nave only by two red antique columns. The long central bay of this inner narthex is barrel-vaulted, while the two shorter outer bays are part of the side aisles, the northern one covered by a Turkish dome and the southern one, which appears to be Byzantine, by a groin vault. Above the arcade is a group of three windows whose heads are circular on the inside but pointed on the outside. Both outer and inner narthexes are one storey, and above them rise the windows of the western dome arch and the north and south semidomes.

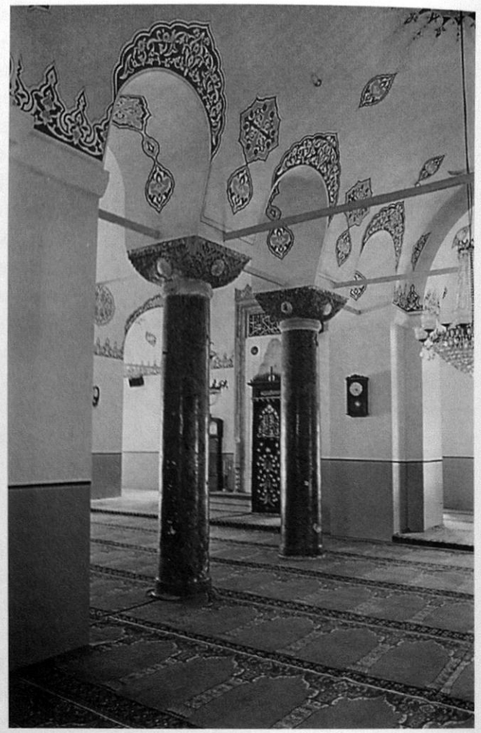
From this point on, the whole interior of the former church (Fig. 140, Plate XLI) is visible. It now has a trefoil shape, but, as noted earlier, it was probably ambulatory in its original form. That is, there would have been a triple arcade supported by columns to north and south, like the one that still exists on the west. To the east, the conch of the apse is preceded by a deep barrel vault; to north and south open out the two later Ottoman semidomes (Fig. 141).

The central dome is a Turkish replacement of the original Byzantine cupola. The dome is carried on a high drum that is cylindrical on the inside and octagonal on the exterior, pierced by a window in each side. The arches supporting the dome on the north and south sides are filled in with the Turkish semidomes, which rest on arches that diagonally span the north and south aisles. Each of the semidomes is pierced by three large windows, which on the exterior appear as dormers in the roof above the cornice.

The barrel-vaulted bema, which precedes the semicircular apse, is flanked by shallow niches leading to the prothesis and diakonikon. Only the diakonikon remains, covered by a groin vault, its apse pierced by a door leading to the women's hall that was erected along the east end of the building in Ottoman times. The prothesis was replaced by a domed bay with a similarly placed door leading to the Turkish women's hall.

∽

On 21 July 1296, a Venetian fleet attacked the Genoese colony in Galata, setting their warehouses on fire and burning down the Greek houses outside the sea walls of Constantinople along the Golden Horn. The local Genoese took the law into their own hands, and in December 1296 they massacred the leading Venetians in Constantinople. The Venetians retaliated the following summer, and their fleet

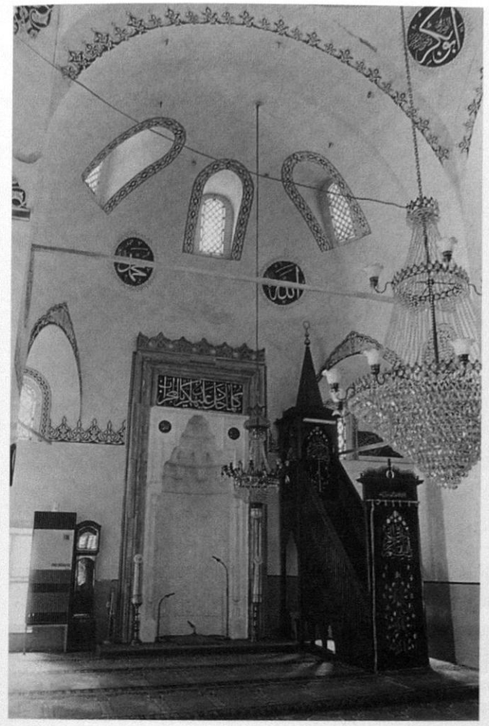


140. Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii, columns on west side of central area of nave

bombarded both Galata and Constantinople, leaving only after receiving compensation for the losses that they had suffered. The Greeks were powerless to stop the Venetian attacks, since the Byzantine navy had been effectively disbanded by the economies of Michael VIII.

The Venetian fleet attacked Constantinople again in July 1302, and Andronicus was forced to pay a large indemnity to the doge in order to obtain a peace agreement. But at the very moment when the peace treaty was being signed in Venice, news arrived that the Byzantines had suffered a serious defeat at the hands of the Turks near Nicomedia in Bithynia, in northwestern Asia Minor. These Turks were led by their chieftain Osman, who was known as Gazi, or Warrior for the Faith, and his followers came to be called Osmanlı, known to the West as the Ottomans. By the time Osman died, in 1324, the Ottomans controlled all of Bithynia except the fortified towns, which were fated to fall to his son and successor, Orhan Gazi.

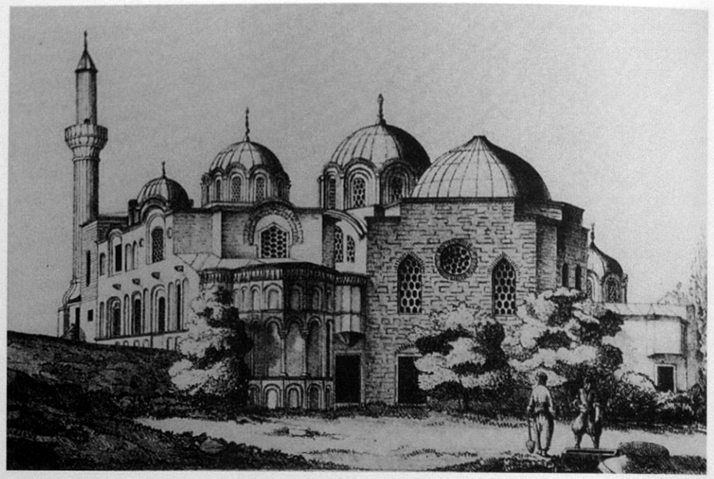
Andronicus sought to secure the dynastic succession for two generations to come in 1316, when he made his eldest grandson co-emperor as Andronicus III



141. Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii, southern bay of nave with mihrap and mimber

(r. 1328–41), who was then second in line for the throne. The young Andronicus, who was nineteen, was wed the following year to Princess Adelaide of Brunswick, who changed her name to Eirene. But Andronicus neglected his wife and took a mistress, who aroused his jealousy by carrying on with another lover. He hired assassins to do away with his rival, but by mistake they killed Prince Manuel, his own younger brother. The shock proved too much for their father, Michael IX, who went into a decline from which he never recovered, dying on 12 October 1320. The emperor Andronicus II was so furious at this that he disinherited Andronicus III. This inevitably led to a civil war, the first in a series of internal conflicts that would tear Byzantium apart during the remainder of the fourteenth century.

The first conflict began on Easter in 1321, when Andronicus III made his way to Adrianople and declared war on his grandfather. His principal supporter was his childhood friend John Cantacuzenus, who served as his chief minister in the civil war, which lasted for seven years, interrupted by two armed truces. Andronicus III finally gained the upper hand, and on 23 May 1328 he and John



142. Fethiye Camii (Church of the Theotokos Pammakaristos) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

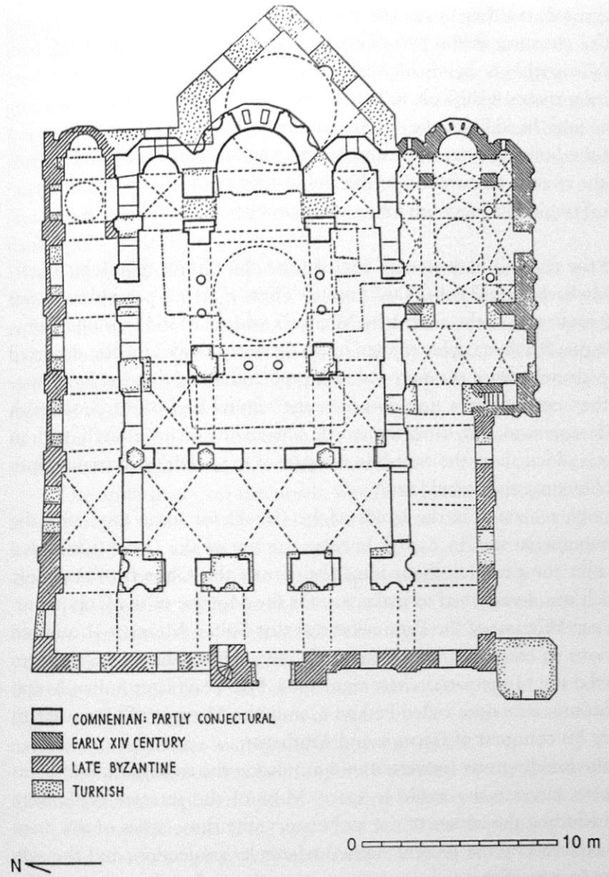
Cantacuzenus led their troops into Constantinople and took control of the city. The young Andronicus then forced his grandfather to abdicate, whereupon he himself became sole emperor. Andronicus II was treated kindly and was allowed to remain in the Palace of Blachernai, though two years later he was forced to retire to a monastery, where he died on 13 February 1332.

The empire had declined greatly during the long reign of Andronicus II, but through his patronage of scholarship and art, Byzantium had flowered culturally, continuing the renaissance that had begun under the Lascaris emperors in Nicaea. The art of the Palaeologan revival produced masterpieces such as the Deesis panel in Hagia Sophia and the paintings in the Theotokos Pammakaristos and Christ in Chora, two churches that were rebuilt and redecorated during the last years of the reign of Andronicus II.

The Church of the Theotokos Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii)

The former Church of the Theotokos Pammakaristos (Fig. 142, Plate XLII) the Mother of God the All Blessed, is now known as Fethiye Camii. It stands on an artificial terrace overlooking the Golden Horn from the ridge linking the Fifth and Sixth Hills.

This complicated building (Fig. 143) consists of three sections: the main church, preceded on the west by its own narthex; the south chapel or parekklesion; and an ambulatory that surrounds the naos on three sides and abuts on the west façade of the parekklesion. Each of these three sections was radically altered when the building was converted into a mosque. The work of the Byzantine



143. Plan of Fethiye Camii (from Mango and Hawkins)

Institute of America cleared up many of the puzzles arising from the repeated periods of construction and transformation.

The main church was built in the reign of Alexius I Comnenus by the emperor's brother Adrian-John and his wife Anna Ducaina. This church was of the ambulatory type, a triple arcade to the north, west, and south dividing the central domed area from the ambulatory. As Robert Ousterhout notes, "The central domed naos enveloped by a U-shaped ambulatory contained tombs of the founder and members of his family, as listed in a sixteenth-century document."[3] At the east end there were the usual three apses, and at the west a single narthex, which may have been a later addition, according to Ousterhout, who remarks,

It was certainly standing by the late thirteenth century, when it was frescoed. The elevation of this part of the building indicates that the roof level of the narthex is slightly higher than the ambulatory. The awkward connection makes it difficult to believe that both were constructed at the same time. In addition, the cistern that forms the substructure to the core of the building does not extend under the narthex. It is possible that in the twelfth-century design, the ambulatory in effect replaced the narthex, bringing its functions into a close association with the naos.[4]

Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the church was rebuilt by a general named Michael Ducas Glabas Tarchaniotes. Then, *c.* 1310, a parekklesion was added on the south side of the church by Michael's widow, Maria Ducaina Comnena Palaeologina Blachena, who erected it as a funerary chapel for her departed husband. The chapel was of the four-column type and was preceded by a two-storeyed narthex covered by a tiny dome. In the second half of the fourteenth century a side aisle was added on the north side of the main church, and an exonarthex was added along the west side and part of the south side, running into and partly obliterating the parekklesion.

The church remained in the hands of the Greeks for some time after the Ottoman Conquest. In fact, in 1456 it became the site of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate after the patriarch Gennadius abandoned the Church of the Holy Apostles, which was demolished to make way for the Mosque of the Conqueror. It was in the parekklesion of the Pammakaristos that Sultan Mehmet II came to discuss questions in religion and politics with Gennadius. The Pammakaristos continued as the site of the patriarchate until 1568. Five years later Sultan Murat III converted it into a mosque called Fethiye Camii, the Mosque of Conquest, to commemorate his conquest of Georgia and Azerbaijan.

When the building was converted into a mosque the main concern seems to have been to increase the available space. Most of the interior walls were demolished, including the arches of the ambulatory; the three apses of the main church were replaced by the present domed triangular projection; and the side chapel was made part of the mosque by removing the wall and suppressing the two north columns. As a result, the main area of the church has become a dark, planless cavern of shapeless hulks of masonry joined by low, crooked arches. After the restoration by the Byzantine Institute, this section was divided off from the side chapel and reconstituted as a mosque, while the parekklesion was converted into a museum to exhibit the surviving mosaics.

The exonarthex, which is part of an outer ambulatory, is in five bays along the west side of the main church and two more along the south side, where it abuts the parekklesion. Robert Ousterhout has suggested that the exonarthex may have been added by Andronicus III. The exonarthex also contained a belfry above the entrance.

The bays of the exonarthex are covered by domical vaults on transverse arches. The north bay is part of the north aisle, which seems to have been built as a mortuary annex, as evidenced by the fact that each of its bays was provided with an arcosolium in its north wall, though the arcosolia are now filled in. The first

bay on the east terminates in a little apse and is covered by a dome on an octagonal drum, the next three by domical vaults. The fifth and sixth bays are of different construction and are higher than the first four. The fifth is covered with a groin vault to continue the vaulting system of the narthex, the sixth with a domical vault, like the other bays of the exonarthex or outer ambulatory. The inner narthex is in four bays covered with groin vaults without transverse arches, the northern bay being part of the north aisle. The inner narthex is at present separated from the naos by three hexagonal piers, the first and second from the south flanking the main entry to the nave.

The square central area of the naos is covered by a dome with 24 concave sectors carried on a high drum pierced by twelve windows. Below the dome arches, the central area communicates with the surrounding ambulatory under large semicircular arches. On the east side, the dome arch is open from floor to vault, leading to the short bema and the approximately triangular apse that replaced the triple apse of the church; the mihrap of the mosque is on the southeast side. The apse and the bema are covered by a dome that is shifted to the south of the longitudinal axis of the church.

The ambulatory on the north, west, and south of the central square is covered by barrel vaults on the sides and with groin vaults at the angles. It originally terminated to the east in the pastophoria chapels, now vanished, though the passage from the prothesis to the central apse remains.

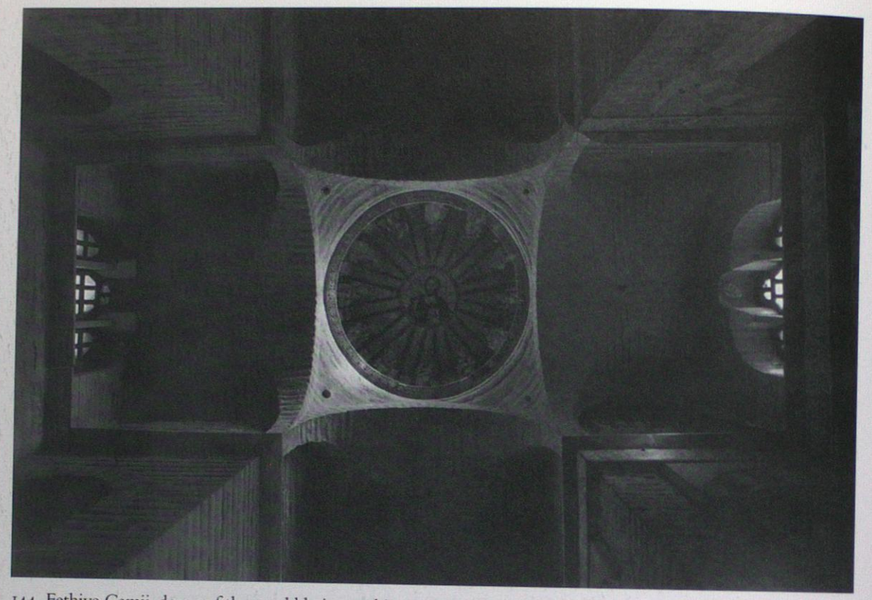
The exterior of the parekklesion is one of the best examples in the city of the fine stone and brick work of the Palaeologan renaissance. Because of the two-storeyed narthex and the fact that the gallery is surmounted by two little cupolas that rise almost to the height of the main dome, the chapel has a cubic form. The façade is divided into three zones of blind arcades, with a succession of wide and narrow arches, slender niches, and concave roundels.

The parekklesion has been superbly restored by the Byzantine Institute, its missing columns replaced, and its surviving mosaics uncovered and cleaned.

The parekklesion (Fig. 144, Plate XLIII) is in plan a perfect example of the cross-in-square church, where here the cross form is raised a story above the level of the vaulting. The arms of the cross and the western angle compartments are covered with groin vaults, while the bays in the eastern angles have domical vaults. The bema and the two pastophoria chapels have groin vaults. The apse is semicircular within and has seven sides on the exterior, the three sides in the center pierced by a triple window with carved oblong shafts and trapezoidal capitals. The chapel is preceded on the west by a narthex, with a gallery above.

Of the four columns that support the dome, only the two on the south are originals, made of Proconnesian marble with bases of a darker marble and finely carved capitals. The dome is carried on a dodecagonal drum with a window in each side, and its hemisphere is divided into twelve segments separated by flat projecting ribs.

The interior of the chapel is divided into three levels by stringcourses, the lower at the abacus level of the columns and the upper at the springing level of the vaults. The lowest level has no windows. The middle level is pierced by



144. Fethiye Camii, dome of the parekklesion and its mosaics

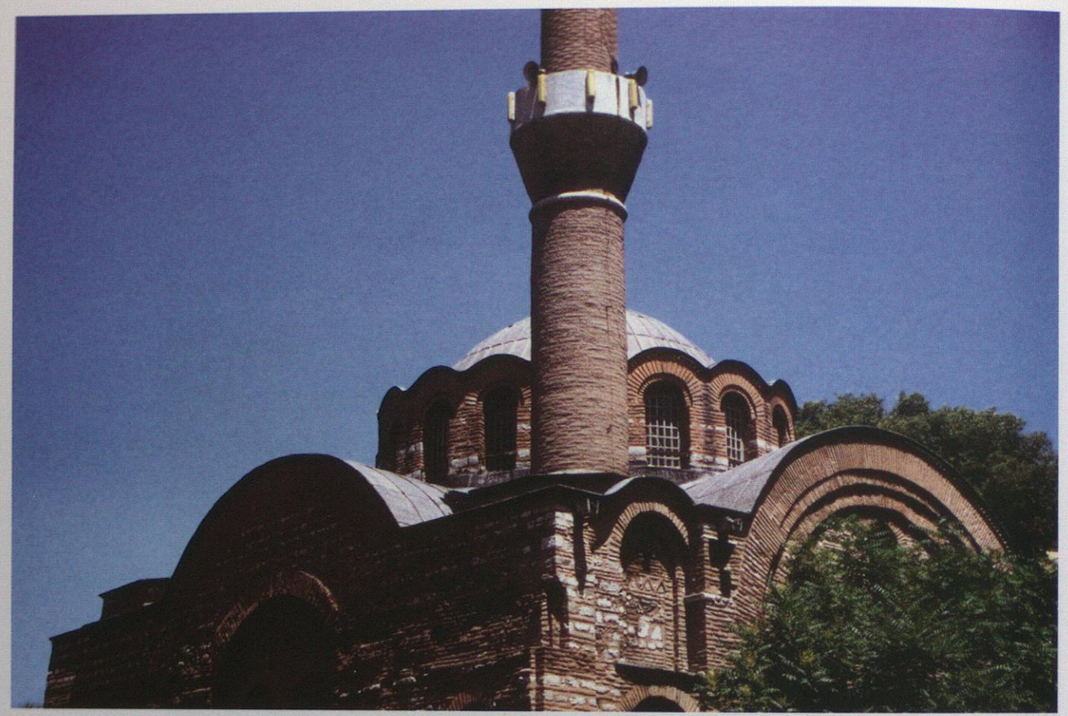
single-light windows in each of the corner bays and in the north crossarm, while the south crossarm has a triple window of two quarter arches and a central high semicircular arch. On the upper level, there is a similar triple window in the north, south, and east crossarms.

The narthex is in three bays covered by groin vaults without transverse arches. At its south end, at the middle level of the chapel, there is a three-light window of the type just described. Above the narthex, approached by a stairway in the west wall, is the small gallery. It is in three bays separated by transverse arches, with each bay having a deep recess. The center bay is covered by a groin vault and looks down on the chapel through a small round-headed window in the west crossarm. Each of the side bays is covered by a ribbed dome with sixteen concave segments carried on a drum, cylindrical on the inside and octagonal externally, with a window in each of the eight sides.

The mosaics in the parekklesion date to *c.* 1310, when the chapel was erected. In the crown of the dome is Christ Pantokrator, surrounded by twelve prophets in the sectors below. The Deesis is in three mosaics in the apse and bema. In the conch of the apse is Christ Hyperagathos, the Supremely Good; on the lunette of the north and south walls of the bema are the Virgin and St. John the Baptist; and in the segments of the groin vault above them are busts of the four archangels: Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Uriel (Plates XLIV, XLV). Two scenes of the Festival cycle are in the lunettes above the east arches of the north and south crossarms: the Baptism and the Ascension. There is a series of



XXXV. Church of St. John in Trullo (Hirami Ahmet Paşa Camii), looking toward the apse



XXXVI. Kalenderhane Camii (Church of the Kyriotissa)



XXXVII. Kalenderhane Camii, nave, looking toward the apse



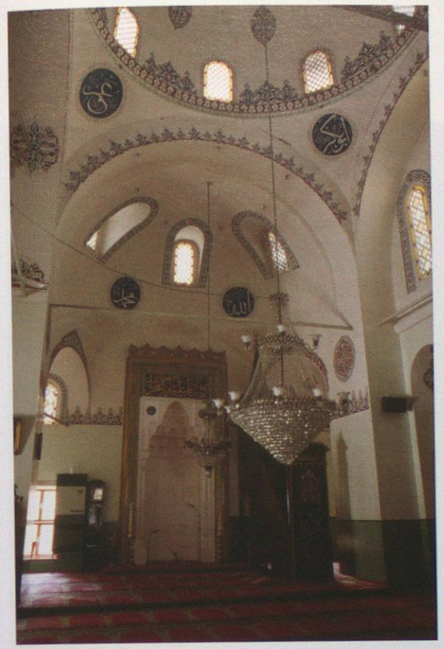
XXXVIII. The Late Byzantine palace known as Tekfursarayi



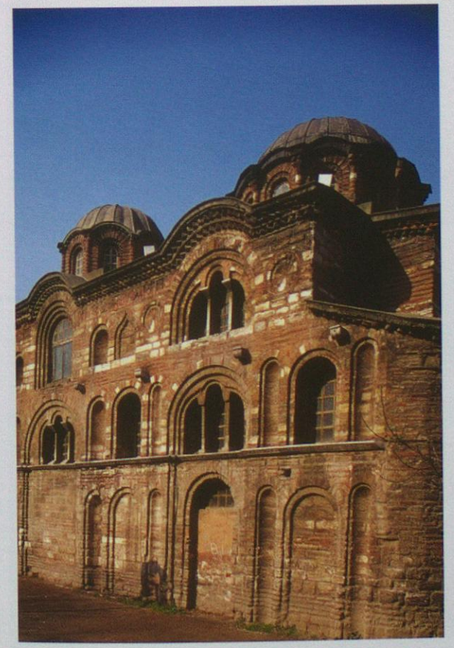
XXXIX. Church of the Panagia Mouchliotissa



XL. Church of the Panagia Mouchliotissa, the nave



XLI. Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii (Church of St. Andrew in Krisei), looking south toward the mihrap from under the dome



XLII. Fethiye Camii (Church of the Pammakaristos), the parekklesion



XLIII. Fethiye Camii, nave and apse of the parekklesion, with mosaic of Christ



XLIV. Fethiye Camii, dome and upper zone of the parekklesion



XLV. Fethiye Camii, mosaic of Christ in the dome of the parekklesion



XLVI. Kariye Camii (Church of Christ in Chora)



XLVII. Kariye Camii, detail of donor mosaic showing Theodore Metochites, in the lunette over the door between the inner narthex and the nave



XLVIII. Kariye Camii, fourth bay from north in the inner narthex, mosaics of Deesis in the east wall and of Christ and his ancestors in the dome



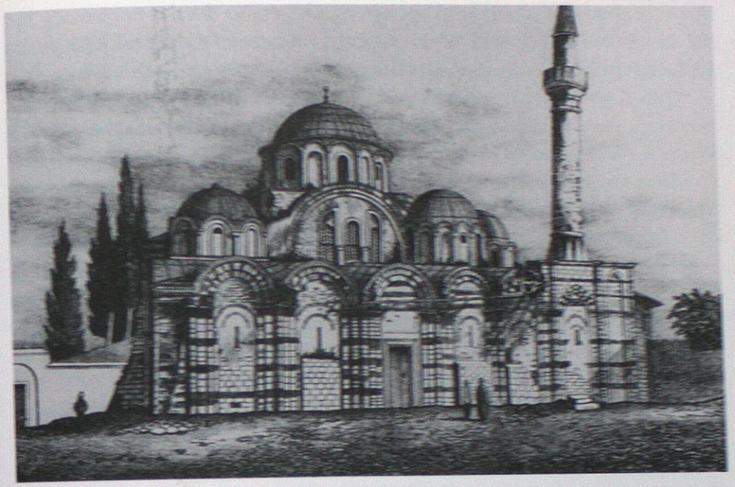
XLIX. Kariye Camii, mosaic of Christ and his ancestors in the dome of the fourth bay from the north in the inner narthex



L. Kariye Camii, mosaic of the Virgin Hodegitria in the nave



LI. Manastir Mescit



145. Kariye Camii (Church of Christ in Chora) (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

portraits of bishops in the middle zone of decoration in the prothesis and diakonikon as well as in the two corner compartments of the nave on the east side. A group of six portraits of monks is in the middle zone of decoration in the southwest compartment of the nave. The narthex of the parekklesion, which was largely used for burials, has lost its original decoration except for a few fragments of mosaics and frescoes that decorated the arcosolia of the east wall.

A fragmentary inscription, written in gold letters on a blue ground, can be seen on both the upper and lower interior cornices of the parekklesion. This is a threnody, most probably written by the poet Philes, in commemoration of Michael Ducas Glabas Tarchaniotes. The poem was commissioned by Michael's widow Maria, who had taken the name Martha when she retired as a nun after her husband's death. In the penultimate line of the poem she addresses her husband by his title of protostrator:

> My husband who, alas! has died to me
> And gone forth from his house of clay
> Do thou thyself settle in an incorruptible mansion,
> Guarding also here the shrine of his remains,
> Lest any injury should befall his bones.
> O protostrator, these things, too, for thy sake I trow,
> Writes she who erstwhile was thy wife, but now is Martha.[5]

The Church of Christ in Chora (Kariye Camii)

Kariye Camii, the former Church of Christ in Chora (Fig. 145, Plate XLVI) stands on the Sixth Hill about 150 meters inside the Theodosian Walls. After

Hagia Sophia, this is the most interesting Byzantine church in the city, not because of the building itself, pretty as it is, but because of the superb mosaics and frescoes with which it is adorned, a magnificent heritage of Byzantine art.

"In Chora" means "in the country" and indeed the original church and monastery were outside the city limits, beyond the walls of Constantine. Later, after it was encompassed by the Theodosian Walls, the name remained (compare St. Martin in the Fields, London) but was given a symbolic sense—Christ as the "dwelling place of the Living" and the Blessed Virgin as the "dwelling-place of the Uncontainable," as they are referred to in inscriptions or mosaics in the church.

The present building in its first form dates back from the late eleventh century. This church was founded by Maria Ducaina, mother-in-law of Alexius I Comnenus, between the years 1077 and 1081. It was probably of the four-column type so popular at that time. However, it shortly began to disintegrate. The foundations of its east end appear to have slipped, causing the dome to fall in, and so the opportunity was taken to remodel the building. At the east the present wide central apse with its deep barrel vault was erected. The walls of the nave were retained, but piers were added in the corners as supports for the arches of a much larger dome. A narrow side passage was added to the south, traces of which still remain in the passages between the nave and the present parekklesion, which dates from a still later reconstruction. This elaborate remodelling was apparently carried out early in the twelfth century by Maria Ducaina's grandson, the sebastocrator Isaac Comnenus, third son of Alexius I Comnenus.

A third period of building activity some two centuries later created the present church. The nave area was left essentially unchanged, except for redecoration, but the inner narthex was rebuilt, the outer narthex and the parekklesion were added, the small side apses were reconstructed, and the northern passage with its gallery was rebuilt in its present form. In addition to these structural alterations, the church was completely redecorated, its interior adorned with the superb marble revetment, mosaics, and frescoes that one sees today. All of this rebuilding and redecoration was carried out in the period 1315–21.

The man responsible for the renovation was Theodore Metochites, who served as both prime minister and first lord of the treasury during the reign of Andronicus II Palaeologus. Metochites was one of the greatest men of his age: a diplomat and high government official, theologian, philosopher, astronomer, poet, and patron of the arts, a leader in the intellectual and artistic renaissance of the Palaeologan era. As his friend the historian Nikephoros Gregoras wrote of him, "From morning to evening he was most wholly and eagerly devoted to public affairs as if scholarship was absolutely indifferent to him, but later in the evening, having left the palace, he became absorbed in science to such a degree as if he were a scholar with absolutely no connection with any other affairs."[6]

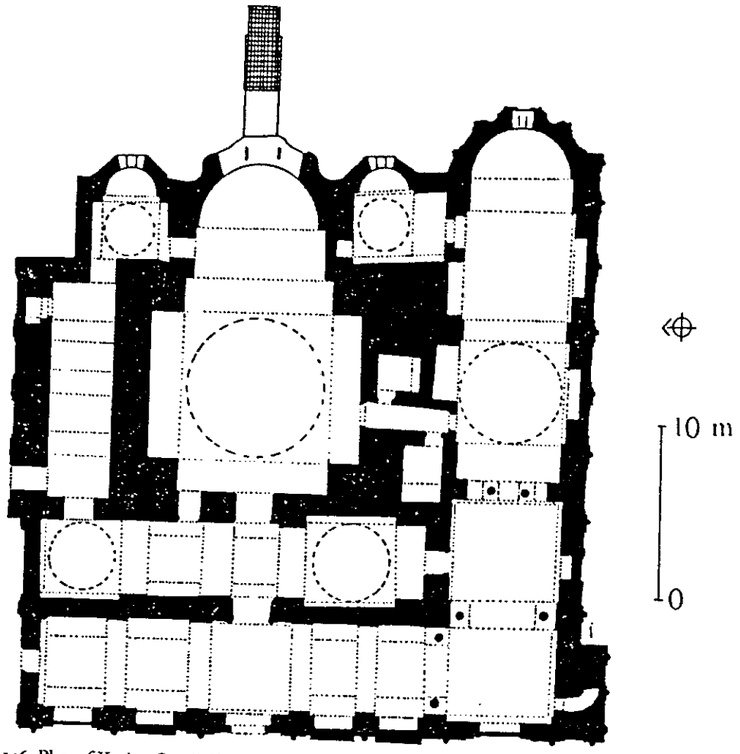
The peak of Metochites' career came in 1321, when he was appointed grand logothete, or prime minister, just weeks before he presided at the dedication of the newly rebuilt and redecorated Church of Christ in Chora. But his career ended just seven years later, when Andronicus III usurped the throne, after which Metochites was stripped of his power and possessions and sent into exile, along with most other officials of the old regime. He was allowed to return to the capital in 1330, on condition that he retired as a monk to the Monastery of the Chora, where he died on 13 March 1332. Toward the end of his life, Metochites wrote of his hope that the Church of Christ in Chora would secure for him "a glorious memory among posterity till the end of the world."[7]

At the time of the Ottoman siege in 1453, the Chora's proximity to the Theodosian Walls put it virtually in the front line. At that time, the Chora was used to house the famous icon of the Virgin Hodegitria. This icon, which tradition ascribes to St. Luke, was believed to be the protectress of the city and during times of siege it was carried in procession along the Theodosian Walls. When the Ottomans broke through the walls on the morning of 29 May 1453, the Chora was pillaged and the icon of the Hodegitria disappeared, never to be seen again.

Early in the sixteenth century the Chora was converted into a mosque by the eunuch Atik Ali Pasa, grand vezir under Bayazit II. The mosaics and frescoes were never completely covered, though in the course of time most were obscured by plaster, paint, and dirt, and many were shaken down by earthquakes. The church and its extraordinary works of art were generally unknown to the scholarly world until 1860, when the Greek architect Pelopidis Kouppas brought it to the attention of Byzantinists in the West. In 1948 the Byzantine Institute of America, under the direction of Paul A. Underwood, began a project to uncover the surviving mosaics and frescoes and to restore them and the fabric of the church to their original condition. After a series of eleven annual campaigns, the project was carried through to completion in 1958, and since then the former Church of Christ in Chora has been open to the public as a museum.

The church (Fig. 146) is preceded by an exonarthex and a narthex, with the parekklesion to the south and the two-storey passageway to the north. The archways in the bays of the exonarthex, where the main entrance is located, were walled up in Ottoman times, when the minaret was erected at the southwest corner of the building in place of a bell tower. The central area of the church is covered by a dome on a high drum. There are two smaller domes carried on lower drums above the first and fourth bays of the narthex from the north, as well as one above the westernmost bay of the parekklesion, with still smaller cupolas above the pastophoria chapels flanking the main apse. These latter domes are visible only from the rear of the church, where one can also see the large buttress supporting the apse and the earlier substructures of the building.

The exonarthex and narthex were entirely new constructions of Metochites. In the vertical walls and lunettes, the masonry consists of four bands of brickwork alternating with four courses of roughly dressed stone. The masonry in the arches and vaults is entirely of brick. The walls of both narthexes were faced with decorative slabs of Proconnesian marble and verd antique, but most of this revetment was stripped from the exonarthex in Ottoman times. Above the cornice in both narthexes, all surfaces were covered with mosaics, including the arches, vaults, and lunettes. The floor of the inner narthex, like that of the nave, is paved in marble, but that of the exonarthex vanished in Ottoman times and has been replaced by a modern pavement.



146. Plan of Kariye Camii (from Ousterhout)

The exonarthex extends across the entire width of the church in six bays, with a seventh bay extending at right angles to the east so as to go around the south bay of the narthex and open into the west end of the parekklesion. The entryway takes one into the third bay from the north in the exonarthex, through which one passes into the narthex and then through another door into the nave. This bay is square in plan and covered with a domical vault, as are the sixth and seventh bays, the two largest. All of the bays are separated from one another by transverse arches. The two pairs of bays on either side are rectangular in shape; thus to cover them with domical vaults it was necessary to reduce them to squares by constructing arches against the east and west walls, an expedient that was also necessary in the second and third bays of the inner narthex. In order to provide illumination for the inner narthex, the two end bays (i.e., the first and fourth) were covered by domes carried on high drums pierced with circlets of windows. The dome to the north has sixteen sectors and is pierced by eight windows, while the one to the south, which is larger in diameter, has twenty-four sectors and twelve windows. This was not necessary in the exonarthex, which was illuminated by semicircular windows at the top of the western arches of the six bays on

the west (these originally had marble balustrades below), while the seventh bay at the southwest corner had a triple-arched window in its south wall. At some later time, slightly pointed reinforcing arches of roughly dressed stone were added within the original transverse arches of the sixth bay; these rest on square granite shafts without bases and detract somewhat from the general appearance of the exonarthex.

In Theodore Metochites' own description of the Chora, he states that little if any reconstruction was required in the nave. However, during the restoration by the Byzantine Institute, it was discovered that Metochites had in fact rebuilt the dome and its supporting drum, along with parts of the pendentives and the crown of the western arch. The dome is supported by four huge piers that stand at the corners of the nave. The nave is cruciform in plan, measuring 14.92 meters in length, from the sill of the western entrance to the end of the apse, and 9.88 meters in maximum width at the north-south crossarm. The naos opens to the east into a deep bema, extended by an extra bay that steps in slightly to a wide apse. Four great arches spring from the piers, and pendentives make the transition from them to the circular cornice of the drum that carries the dome, 7.45 meters in diameter. The present dome is Turkish, made of wood and covered with plaster, but the drum is from the reconstruction of 1315–21. The dome has sixteen segments, and the drum is pierced by sixteen windows. There are also great triple arched windows with mullions in the apse and in the north, south, and west crossarm walls, though those to the north have been blocked because of the intrusion of the two-storey annex on that side.

In the twelfth-century church, both of the pastophoria chapels were connected to the bema by short passages. The prothesis is still connected to the bema, but in the fourteenth-century rebuilding, the passage from the diakonikon was closed. Instead, a passage was opened from the diakonikon to the parekklesion. Thenceforth the prothesis served as the sacristy for the main church, while the diakonikon served the same purpose for the parekklesion. There is also a passage in the south wall of the nave leading to the west bay of the parekklesion. In the walls of this passage, doors open on either side into small enclosures that were apparently used as oratories.

Nothing now remains of the liturgical furnishings of the bema, that is, the altar, the ciborium, and the iconostasis. However, excavations in the apse revealed the emplacement of the altar and the foundations for the columns of the ciborium. The excavations also unearthed, sunk beneath the altar, a large marble chest filled with debris from the period when the church was converted into a mosque. Among the debris were found quantities of stained glass similar to that discovered in the Pantocrator. Of the mosque furnishings of Kariye Camii, all that remains is the mihrap, which is rotated somewhat with respect to the central axis of the church.

Metochites also built the two-storey annex adjoining the nave and parallel to it. At the east end of the lower floor, this annex connected with the prothesis, and at its west end with the first bay of the inner narthex. The lower floor of this annex is believed to have served as the skeuophylakion, or treasury, where all of

the precious objects and sacred relics of the church were stored for safekeeping. It has been suggested that the second floor was used to house Theodore Metochites' celebrated collection of books and manuscripts.

As noted, the parekklesion was also a construction of Metochites, designed to serve as a funerary chapel. It lies parallel to the south side of the nave; the principal entryway is at its west end, where it is separated from the seventh bay of the exonarthex by two columns topped by Byzantine Corinthian capitals and bearing a tympanum pierced by arches. The chapel consists of two square bays and at the east end a bema with a semicircular apse covered with a conch. The west bay is covered by a ribbed dome on a high dodecagonal drum pierced by twelve windows. On the east and west, the dome is carried on transverse arches. The east bay is covered by a domical vault. There are triple windows in the conch of the apse and also in the south tympanum walls of the two bays. Around the walls of the parekklesion, at the springing level of the arches, there runs a cornice. The north and south walls below this cornice are articulated into bays by pilasters that receive the three transverse arches. Four arcosolia are built within the thickness of the walls, one on each side of the two bays; these were designed to serve as sepulchral monuments for Metochites and other important persons.

The mosaics fall into seven quite distinct groups:

1. Six large dedicatory or devotional panels in the inner and outer narthexes.
2. The Ancestry of Christ, in the two domes of the inner narthex.
3. The cycle of the Life of the Blessed Virgin, in the first three bays of the inner narthex.
4. The cycle of the Infancy of Christ, in the lunettes of the outer narthex.
5. The cycle of Christ's Mission, in the vaults of the outer narthex and the fourth bay of the inner narthex.
6. Portraits of saints.
7. The mosaics in the nave.

The genealogy in the domes serves as a prelude to the narrative cycles of the lives of the Blessed Virgin and Christ, which comprise the major elements in the program. These mosaic cycles are closely linked together and form one continuous narrative, for the cycle in the outer narthex takes up the account at the precise point in Mary's life, as narrated in the Apocryphal Gospel of St. James, better known as the Protoevangelium, where the Gospel accounts begin, superseding it as the authority. However, while the mosaics depicting the Infancy of Christ are based on the Gospels and quote their texts in inscriptions, at many points they illustrate events derived from the Protoevangelium.

The dedicatory and devotional panels include depictions of Christ Pantokrator (in the lunette over the door to the inner narthex); the Virgin Blachernitissa and Angels (opposite the above, over the entrance door to building); the Enthroned Christ with Donor (Plate XLVII) (in the lunette over the door between the inner narthex and the nave), in which Metochites offers a model of his church to Christ; SS. Peter and Paul (to the left and right of the door leading into the nave); the Deesis, with the figures of two donors, one of whom is Isaac

Comnenus, third son of Alexius I, who was probably responsible for the rebuilding of this church in the twelfth century, the other possibly Maria, half-sister of Andronicus II, known as the Despoina of the Mongols, who founded the still-extant Church of St. Mary of the Mongols.

The mosaics depicting the genealogy of Christ are contained in the two domes of the inner narthex. In the crown of the south dome (Plates XLVIII, XLIX) there is a medallion of Christ Pantokrator, and in the flutes, there are two rows of his ancestors, from Adam to Jacob in the upper zone, and in the lower the twelve sons of Jacob and some others. In the crown of the north dome, there is a medallion of the Blessed Virgin with the Christ child; below, in the upper zone, there are sixteen kings of the House of David, and in the lower eleven figures representing other ancestors in the genealogy.

The mosaics representing the cycle of the Life of the Virgin are located in the first three bays of the inner narthex. This cycle is based mainly on the Protoevangelium, which gives an account of the Virgin's birth and life from the rejection of the offerings of Joachim, her father, to the birth of Jesus. It was very popular in the Middle Ages and is the source of many cycles of pictures both in the East and the West. The most notable is Giotto's cycle in the Arena Chapel in Padua, painted at about the same time as these and representing many of the same scenes. Here there are twenty scenes, of which nineteen are completely or partly preserved.

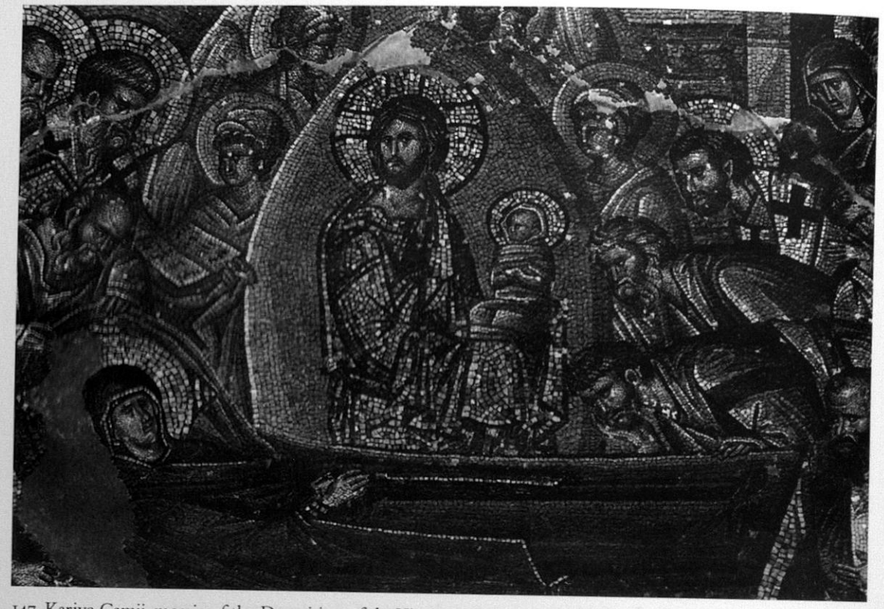
The cycle of the Infancy of Christ consists of thirteen extant or partly extant infancy scenes, each of which occupies a lunette of the outer narthex, proceeding clockwise round all seven bays. In the soffits of the arches are saints, while in the domical vaults are the scenes of Christ's Ministry, which will be described later. The Infancy cycle is based largely on the canonical Gospels, and most of the scenes are inscribed with quotations that sufficiently identify them.

The cycle of Christ's Mission occupies the domical vaults of all seven bays of the outer narthex as well as parts of the south bay of the inner narthex. Unfortunately, all but one of the vaults in the outer narthex are badly damaged, many scenes being lost or reduced to mere fragments.

The soffits of the arches in the outer narthex are decorated with the portraits of martyr-saints; there were originally fifty, of which thirty-seven still exist in whole or in part. The portraits are of two kinds: busts in medallions and full-length standing figures. In addition to these, there were twelve portraits of saints on the pilasters that receive the transverse arches in the outer narthex, of which only battered fragments of six have survived.

The mosaics in the nave consist of three panels: the Dormition *(Koimesis)* of the Virgin (Fig. 147) (over the central door from the narthex); Christ (in the panel at the left of the bema), with an inscription reading: "Jesus Christ, the dwelling-place of the Living"; The Virgin Hodegitria (Plate L) (in the panel at the right of the bema), with an inscription reading: "The Mother of God, the dwelling-place of the Uncontainable."

The superb fresco decoration of the parekklesion was the last part of Theodore Metochites' work of redecoration to be carried out, probably in 1320–21. The great but unknown master artist of these frescoes was probably the same as the one who did the mosaics in the rest of the church. The decoration of



147. Kariye Camii, mosaic of the Dormition of the Virgin in the nave

the chapel is designed to illustrate its purpose as a place of burial. Above the level of the cornice, the paintings represent the Resurrection and the Life, the Last Judgment, Heaven and Hell, and the Mother of God as the Bridge between Earth and Heaven. Below the cornice is a procession of saints and martyrs, interrupted here and there by tombs.

The most notable fresco is the scene in the conch of the apse: The Anastasis (Fig. 148), or Harrowing of Hell, is shown, flanked by scenes of resurrection. This is one of the great paintings in the world and, along with the Deesis in Hagia Sophia, the apogee of Byzantine art in its last renaissance. There are four tombs in the parekklesion, each in a deep niche that originally held a sarcophagus, with mosaics and frescoes above, some fragments of which still survive.

The easternmost of the two tombs in the north wall is almost certainly that of Theodore Metochites himself, distinguished by its elaborately carved and decorated archivolt. The tomb directly opposite this is that of Michael Tornikes (Fig. 149) a general who was a close friend of Metochites. The deceased is identified by a long inscription above the archivolt, which is even more elaborately carved than that of the tomb opposite, with fragments of the mosaic and fresco decoration still evident.

There are three tombs in arcosolia in the north wall of the outer narthex. The tomb in the fifth bay is that of the princess Irene Raoulina Palaeologina, a connection by marriage of Metochites; it preserves a good deal of its fresco decoration. The tomb in the fourth bay is that of an unidentified member of the



148. Kariye Camii, fresco of the Anastasis, in the conch of the apse in the parekklesion

imperial Palaeologus family; part of the fresco decoration survives, showing the lower halves of a couple dressed in colorful princely costumes. The tomb in the second bay is the latest in the church, dating to the very last years of the Palaeologan era. It shows strong influence of the Italian Renaissance. However, the inscription has vanished and the identity of the deceased is unknown.

There is also one tomb in an arcosolium in the inner narthex, in the south wall of the first bay. This is the tomb of the despot Demetrius Ducas Angelus Palaeologus, youngest son of Andronicus II, who died *c.* 1340. Only a small part of the mosaic decoration has survived, and the only intact figure is that of the Virgin. Beneath her a fragmentary inscription reads: "Thou art the Fount of Life, Mother of God the Word, and I, Demetrius, am thy slave in love."

Andronicus III was thirty-one when he became undisputed emperor. His first wife, Eirene, had passed away in 1324, and their only child had died in infancy. His second wife finally gave birth to a son on 18 June 1332. Nicephorus Gregoras writes of how the emperor celebrated the birth of his son, the future John V, with a joust and tournament in the western fashion introduced to the court by his Latin wife.

Meanwhile, the Ottoman Turks had conquered the Bithynian city of Prusa, which became the first capital of their nascent empire, under the name of Bursa. Orhan thereupon took the title of sultan, the first of the imperial Ottoman line



149. Kariye Camii, tomb of Michael Tornikes in the south wall of the parekklesion

that was to was to continue without interruption for six centuries. Andronicus mounted a campaign against the Ottoman Turks in the spring of 1329, when he and John Cantacuzenus led an army across the strait into Bithynia, where they attacked Orhan's forces at Pelekanon. The Greeks were defeated and Andronicus was wounded in the leg by an arrow, but Cantacuzenus managed to rally the survivors and march them back to Chrysopolis.

The Greek defeat at Pelekanon doomed the remaining Byzantine possessions in Bithynia, and Nicaea fell to Orhan on 2 March 1331. The loss of Nicaea persuaded Andronicus to come to terms with the Ottoman Turks, and in September 1333 he signed a treaty with Sultan Orhan.

Andronicus died on 15 June 1341 after a brief illness, aged forty-three. His unexpected death created a dynastic crisis, for his eldest son, the future John V, who was barely nine, had not been made co-emperor. And so John Cantacuzenus was appointed as regent by the empress Anna and the patriarch John XIV Calecas, the agreement being that John V would succeed to his father's throne when he came of age.

Both the Bulgarians and the Turks took advantage of the emperor's death to raid the territory of the Byzantine Empirer. Cantacuzenus was forced to leave

Constantinople on 23 September 1341 to campaign in Thrace, and he appointed Alexius Apocaucus as commander of the Byzantine fleet to guard the Bosphorus. Apocaucus plotted against him, convincing both the patriarch and Anna of Savoy that Cantacuzenus was planning to seize the throne for himself. The empress Anna signed an order for Cantacuzenus to be arrested, whereupon all of his property in Constantinople was confiscated. About forty supporters of Cantacuzenus fled from Constantinople and joined him at his camp in Didymotichum, where on 26 October they proclaimed him emperor. Historians generally number him as John VI (r. 1347–54), after the young John V Palaeologus (r. 1341–91), whose name was mentioned in the ceremony of investiture at Didymotichum ahead of that of Cantacuzenus.

The internal conflict that began in 1341 differed from all of the other civil wars in the previous history of the Byzantine Empire because it almost immediately developed into a struggle between social classes, with the landowning aristocracy supporting Cantacuzenus and the ordinary people of the cities and the serfs of the countryside taking the law into their own hands under the banner of John V Palaeologus.

This civil war dragged on for six years, during which time Cantacuzenus established an alliance with the Ottoman Turks, giving his daughter Theodora in marriage to Sultan Orhan. Meanwhile, conspirators in Constantinople were working in the interests of Cantacuzenus, and on the night of 2 February 1347 they admitted him and his men through a portal in the Theodosian Walls. Word spread throughout the city and his supporters rushed to join him, and by sunrise he had drawn up his troops around the Blachernai Palace. Anna of Savoy was soon forced to come to terms with Cantacuzenus, and a week later it was agreed that he and John V Palaeologus would rule as co-emperors. John VI Cantacuzenus was crowned on 13 May 1347 by the new patriarch of Constantinople, Isidore I.

Cantacuzenus then arranged for his daughter Helena to be married to John V, who was barely fifteen. The marriage took place in the Church of the Virgin Blachernitissa, since Hagia Sophia was in ruins, the eastern half of its great dome having collapsed the previous year. The wedding was lacking in customary Byzantine splendor, for the city and its people were still suffering from the horrors of the long civil war, the treasury was completely empty, and even the crown jewels were gone, pawned in Venice by the empress Anna to raise money for her son. Funds for the repair of Hagia Sophia were eventually contributed by Symeon, the grand duke of Moscow, who saw himself as the patron and protector of Orthodoxy. But Cantacuzenus was forced to use the money for the hire of Turkish mercenaries, and the restoration of Hagia Sophia was delayed until 1355, when additional funds became available.

Cantacuzenus had barely begun his reign when Constantinople was struck by the terrible Black Plague, which first appeared in the city in 1347 in Genoese ships from the Crimea. By the time the plague was over, late in the following year, a third of the population in Constantinople had died.

Byzantium then became involved in the maritime wars between Venice and Genoa, with battles taking place in the Golden Horn on a number of occasions between 1348 and 1352. The Byzantines equipped a fleet, but when they set out to sea, all of their ships were destroyed in a sudden storm. Constantinople was

thus left to the mercy of the Italians, though Cantacuzenus managed to negotiate favorable treaties with both the Genoese and the Venetians to keep them at bay.

Meanwhile, Cantacuzenus had sent out his two sons to rule provinces of the empire. Matthew, the elder, governed western Thrace from Didymotichum, and Manuel ruled in the Peloponnesus from Mistra. The latter principality came to be known as the Despotate of the Morea, fated to be one of the last outposts of Byzantium, along with the empire of Trebizond.

Cantacuzenus sent John V to rule as emperor in Thessalonika after the city was recaptured by the Byzantines in 1350. This led to another civil war, which lasted for four years, giving the Ottoman Turks the opportunity to cross the Hellespont and take possession of the Gallipoli Peninsula. The war finally ended when John V made his way back into Constantinople under cover of night on 29 November 1354. The news of his arrival spread rapidly through the city, and the populace flocked to see him as he set up his headquarters in the imperial residence on the Sixth Hill known today as Tekfursarayı. Two days later John V Palaeologus and John VI Cantacuzenus met and agreed on a truce. Cantacuzenus formally abdicated in a ceremony at the Blachernai Palace on 10 December 1354, after which he became a monk and retired to the monastery of the Church of St. George of the Mangana. Later he moved to a monastery in Mistra, capital of the Despotate of the Morea, where he died in 1383.

John V Palaeologus was twenty-two when he became sole emperor in December 1354. This event roughly marked the beginning of Byzantium's last century. John knew that his only hope was to obtain help from the Christian powers in Europe, so he set out to form alliances with them against the rapidly advancing Ottoman Turks.

Early in 1355 John gave his sister Maria in marriage to the Genoese merchant adventurer Francesco Gattilusio, whom he made lord of Mytilene, the capital of Lesbos. Later that same year John gave the Genoese the island of Chios, which thenceforth was governed by a company of merchant adventurers of the Giustiniani family, who remained faithful allies of the Greeks till the end of Byzantium.

Orhan Gazi died in 1362, to be succeeded as sultan by his son Murat. The following year Murat captured Didymotichum, cutting off Byzantium from the West. Nine years later he captured Adrianople (which the Turks called Edirne) and made it the new Ottoman capital.

Meanwhile John had gone to Italy to seek help from the pope. He left Constantinople in charge of his eldest son, who had been crowned co-emperor as Andronicus IV (r. 1376–9), while his second son Manuel was made governor of Thessalonika. John met with Pope Urban V in Rome on 21 October 1367 and agreed to a union of the Greek and Roman churches under the papacy. The pope then sent an encyclical to the princes of western Europe saying that John was now a Roman Catholic and fully deserving of assistance. After leaving Rome, John went to Venice, where he was detained because of his inability to pay off the huge debt that Byzantium owed the Venetians. He was saved by his son Manuel, who came to Venice and arranged for a loan that enabled his father to return home; he himself remained as a hostage until the first payment was made on the borrowed money.

John finally reached Constantinople in October 1371. A year after his return, he signed a treaty with Murat acknowledging his suzerainty to the sultan.

Early in 1373 John was in Murat's camp in Asia Minor fighting in a campign as the sultan's vassal, leading the pope to remark that the emperor, though now a Catholic, had been reduced to making "an impious alliance" with the infidel.

While John was on campaign with Murat, he once again left Andronicus to rule in Constantinople as his regent. Andronicus took the opportunity to revolt against his father in May 1373, but John quickly quelled the rebellion. This was the first in a series of civil wars that lasted until the death of John V on 16 February 1391, by which time Andronicus had also died. John VII (r. 1390), son and successor of Andronicus IV, held Constantinople for six months in 1390 before he was forced out by Manuel II (r. 1391–1425), son and heir of John V. Manuel, who became sole emperor in 1391, was crowned in Hagia Sophia on 11 February 1392, the day after his marriage to the Serbian princess Helena Dragas.

Meanwhile, the Ottoman Turks were becoming stronger by the day, attracting numerous recruits, both Christian and Muslim, through the opportunities for plunder offered by Murat's victorious campaigns. Early in 1389 Murat mounted a campaign against Serbia, where an anti-Ottoman coalition had been formed by Prince Lazar. The two armies met on the plain of Kosovo on 15 June 1389, when the Ottomans defeated the Christian allies with great slaughter. Murat was killed at the very moment of victory, assassinated by a captured Serbian noble. Thereupon his son Beyazit took command and massacred Lazar and all the other surviving Serbian nobility.

The new sultan came to be known as Yıldırım, or Lightning, from the speed with which he marched his armies back and forth between his European and Asian frontiers. Beyazit's campaigns in Asia Minor conquered the principalities ruled by the emirs of the other Turkish tribes in the western part of the subcontinent, while in Europe he consolidated his father's conquests.

By that time the Ottomans had conquered virtually all of the remaining Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor, and the emperor Manuel was reduced to the status of the sultan's vassal, paying him an annual indemnity. Then Beyazit drew the noose even tighter when he put Constantinople under siege early in 1394.

The rapid Ottoman advance alarmed the Christian powers of Europe, and King Sigismund of Hungary led the call for a crusade against the Turks. A Christian army of nearly 100,000 mustered at Buda in July 1396 under the leadership of Sigismund, with contingents from Hungary, Wallachia, France, Germany, Poland, Italy, Spain, and England, while an allied fleet with ships from Genoa, Venice, and Rhodes patrolled the straits and the Black Sea coast. The Christian army headed down along the Danube to Nicopolis, where they put the Turkish-occupied fortress under siege. Beyazit caught up with them there, and on 25 September 1396 he totally routed the crusaders.

After his victory Beyazit renewed his siege of Constantinople. The following year he built the fortress of Anadolu Hisarı on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus at its narrowest point, thus putting himself in position to cut off Constantinople from its grain supplies around the Black Sea.

Manuel appealed to the Christian powers of Europe to send aid to his beleagured city. Charles VI of France equipped an expedition under Marshal Boucicaut, who in the summer of 1399 brought 1,200 troops to Constantinople.

The marshal soon saw that a far greater force was needed to deliver the city from the Turks, and so he advised Manuel to accompany him back to France and present his case in person to King Charles. Manuel made a royal tour of the capitals of western Europe, meeting first with Charles VI in Paris and then going on to see Henry IV in London, where he was welcomed as "a great Christian prince from the East." But despite his initial high hopes, Manuel eventually realized that no real help would be forthcoming, for the Christian princes of western Europe were too involved in their own problems to embark on another crusade. By then the population of Constantinople was less than a fifth of what it had been in the days of Justinian, and many of its buildings were abandoned and in ruins.

The siege of Constantinople was lifted in the spring of 1402, as Beyazit was forced to march all of his forces into Asia Minor to meet an invasion by the Mongols under Tamerlane. When the two armies met near Ancyra on 28 July 1402, the Mongols crushed the Ottomans and captured Beyazit, who died soon afterward as Tamerlane's captive. This led to an eleven-year war of succession between Beyazit's four surviving sons–Süleyman, Musa, Isa, and Mehmet–which gave Byzantium an unexpected respite. The struggle was finally won by Mehmet, who with Byzantine help established himself as sultan in 1413, his three brothers having been killed in the interim.

Mehmet I died in 1421 and was succeeded by his son Murat II, who was then seventeen. The next year Murat mounted campaigns against both Thessalonika and Constantinople, taking command of the latter siege himself. But the Theodosian Walls proved too strong for him, and he abandoned his siege on 6 September 1422.

The emperor Manuel suffered a crippling stroke on 1 October 1422, whereupon his son John was made regent and assumed control of the government. Manuel died on 21 July 1425, aged seventy-five, having reigned for thirty-four years. That same day he was buried in the Church of the Pantokrator, where his funeral oration was delivered by Bessarion of Trebizond, the future archbishop of Nicaea and later still a cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church. The historian George Sphrantzes wrote of Manuel's funeral that it was attended "with such mournings and such assemblages as there had never been for any of the other emperors."[8]

John VIII was thirty-two when he succeeded his father as emperor. His first wife, Sophia, daughter of Basil I of Moscow, had died of the plague in 1418. In 1421 he married Sophia of Monteferrat, but he took such an aversion to her that she fled from Constantinople and returned home in 1426. John then married the beautiful Maria Comnena, daughter of the emperor Alexius IV of Trebizond. Because all three of these marriages were childless, a crisis of succession was added to the other perils facing Byzantium.

Thessalonika finally fell to the Ottomans on 29 March 1430. This led John VIII to seek help from the West, and he proposed to Pope Martin V that an effort be made to reconcile the Greek and Latin churches. This eventually gave rise to a council that was convened by Pope Eugenius IV at Ferrara in 1438, after which it moved to Florence the following year, with the Byzantine delegation headed by John VIII and the patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph II. The Decree of Union, uniting the Greek and Latin churches under the aegis of the pope, was



finally signed on 5 July 1439. Pope Eugenius then prepared to call for a crusade to save Constantinople from the Turks. John did not return to Constantinople until February 1440, when he received news that his beloved wife Maria had died of the plague late in the previous year. The following year some of the clerics who had signed the Decree of Union publicly repudiated their action in a manifesto. The emperor's brother Demetrius, who was ruling as despot in Selymbria, took advantage of the situation and tried to seize the throne by posing as the champion of Orthodoxy. He mounted an expedition with the aid of the Turks and attacked Constantinople in the summer of 1443, but John was saved when his brother Constantine, despot of the Morea, arrived with reinforcements and put down the rebellion.

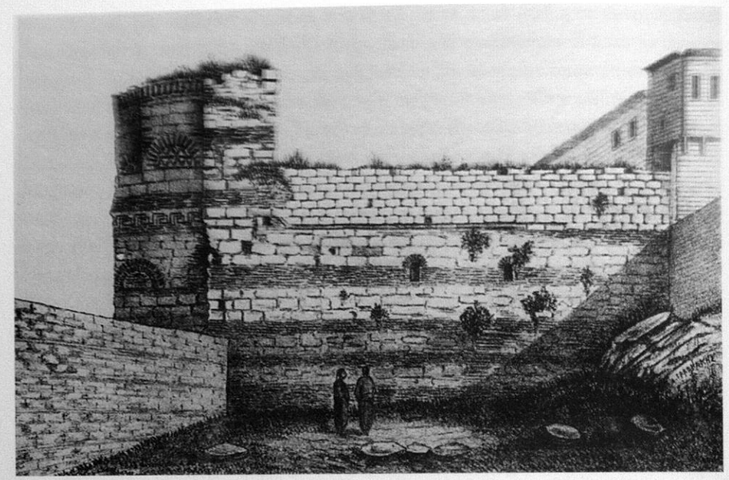
Meanwhile, the pope's call for a crusade had brought together an army under the leadership of Ladislas III, king of Poland and Hungary, and his general John Hunyadi, with naval contingents provided by the pope, the duke of Burgundy, and the doge of Venice. Sultan Murat was in Asia Minor when the allies met in June 1444, but he quickly moved his forces and met the crusaders five months later at Varna on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria. Murat's forces virtually annihilated the crusaders there on 10 November 1444. John Hunyadi was one of the few to escape.

Shortly after the battle of Varna, Murat retired in favor of his son Mehmet, who was not yet thirteen. Mehmet's extreme youth and inexperience led Murat to resume his reign in September 1446, whereupon Mehmet was made provincial governor in Manisa, near the Aegean coast of Asia Minor.

Meanwhile, John Hunyadi had mustered an army and tried to join forces with the Albanian rebel leader Skanderbeg to fight against the Turks. Murat caught up with Hunyadi's forces at Kosovo, where the Serbs had gone down fighting against the Turks in 1389. The outcome of the second battle of Kosovo, fought from 17 to 20 October 1448, was the same as the first, with the Turks once again routing the Christians.

John VIII died on 31 October 1449 and was buried in the Church of the Pantokrator next to his wife Maria and his father Manuel II. John was survived by three of his brothers–Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas–as well as by his mother, Helena Dragas. Constantine, the oldest, used the surname Dragases, the Greek form of his mother's maiden name. At the time of John's death Constantine and his brother Thomas were in Mistra, capital of the Despotate of the Morea, while Dimitrius was in Selymbria, just forty miles from Constantinople. As soon as he received news of John's death, Demetrius rushed back to Constantinople to make a claim for the throne. But Helena was determined that Constantine should succeed, and so she stopped Demetrius from taking control and asserted her right to serve as regent in the interim. She dispatched couriers to Mistra to inform Constantine that he had succeeded his brother John.

When the news arrived at Mistra, Constantine was acclaimed as emperor. It was decided that the coronation should be carried out there rather than in Constantinople, and so on 6 January 1449 he was crowned as Constantine XI in the Church of St. Demetrius in Mistra. He would be the last of the imperial dynasty



150. Sinan Paşa Mescidi (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

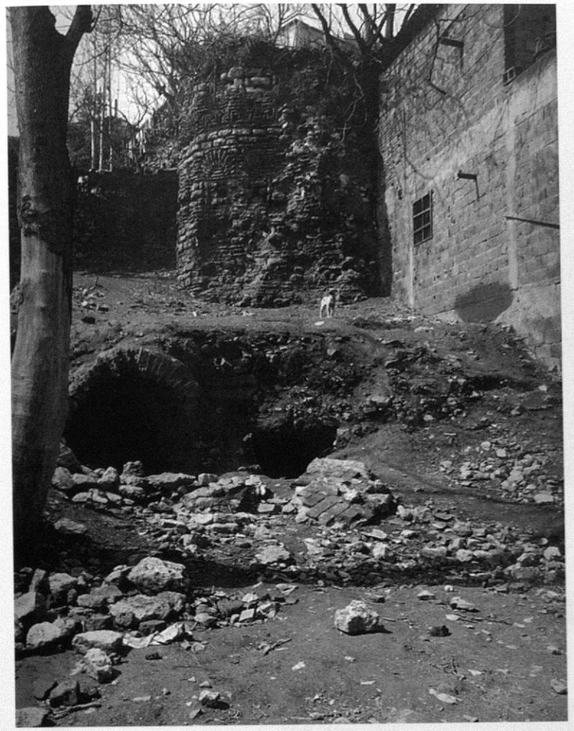
of the Palaeologan emperors, who had now ruled for nearly two centuries. No other dynasties would follow theirs, for Constantine Dragases was decreed by fate to be the last emperor of Byzantium.

Besides the churches already described, there are five other Byzantine monuments in the city that are believed to date from the Palaeologan era, one on the Golden Horn below the Fifth Hill, one on the Sixth Hill, two on the Seventh, and one in the valley between the Sixth and Seventh Hills. These are all very minor monuments, three of them in utter ruins. None of them have been identified, and their dates are uncertain to varying degrees. Nevertheless, all are interesting in one way or another.

Sinan Paşa Mescidi

The ruins of Sinan Paşa Mescidi (Figs. 150, 151) are about a hundred meters inside the Ayakapı Gate on the Golden Horn, on the right side of the street leading up to the summit of the Fifth Hill. Mathews reports that only substructures remain, but actually some of the superstructure is standing to virtually its full height, including the apse, as much as is shown in Schneider's plan of 1936.

Paspates, in the lithograph made for his book in 1876, shows the church as rectangular in form, about 6 meters long and 4.5 meters wide, terminating to the east in a single apse. Berge Aran, through a study of its brickwork, dates the structure to the early fourteenth century. The building was named for the Grand Admiral Sinan Paşa, who died in 1553. Sinan Paşa is known to have converted a church in the Petrion into a mosque, but the original name of the church is unknown.

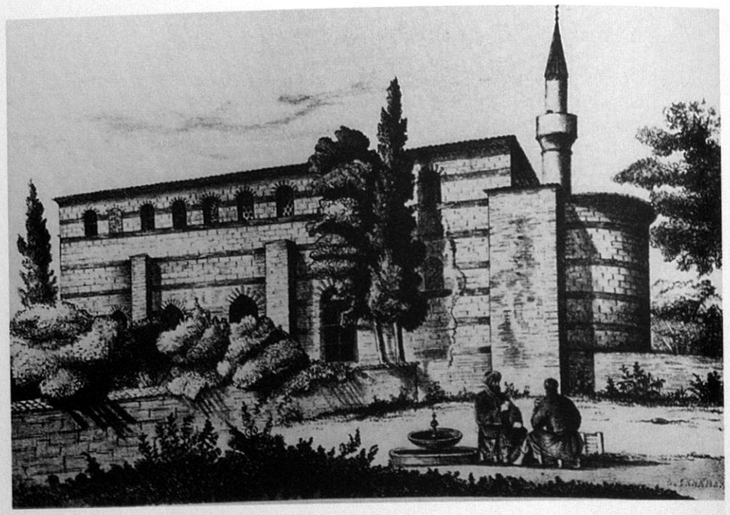


151. Sinan Paşa Mescidi

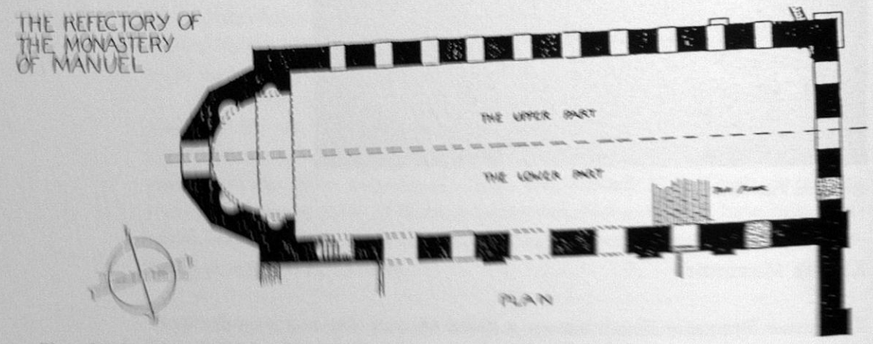
Kefeli Mescidi

The former Byzantine church known as Kefeli Mescidi (Fig. 152) is on the Sixth Hill, about 250 meters southeast of Kariye Camii. The building is in good condition and is still in use as a mosque, whose name has recently been changed to Kefevi Camii.

Nothing is known of the history of the building in Byzantine times. Its identification is uncertain: it may have belonged to the Monastery of St. John Prodromos (the Baptist) in the district of Petra, which is known to have been in this area. Van Millingen and others believed that it was the Monastery of Manuel, founded in the ninth century by an uncle of the empress Theodora, wife of the emperor Theophilus. Van Millingen also believed that the building here was probably the refectory of the monastery and not the church, since it has only one apse and is oriented north instead of east. B. Palazzo, in a study published in 1951, concluded that this is not the Monastery of Manuel, and Janin concurred with him in his work on the ecclesiastical geography of the Byzantine Empire published in 1969.



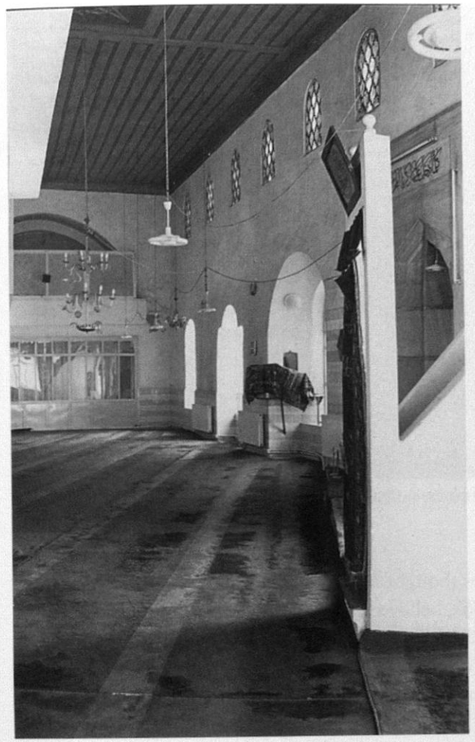
152. Kefeli Mescidi (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)



153. Plan of Kefeli Mescidi (from Van Millingen)

When Armenians from Kaffa in the Crimea were moved to Istanbul in 1475, they were given this building as a church, which was dedicated to St. Nicholas and used by both Roman Catholic and Gregorian Armenians. Then in 1629–39 it was converted into a mosque, whose name Kefeli is a corruption of Kaffali, meaning "from Kaffa."

The building (Fig. 153) is 22.6 meters long by 7.22 meters wide, built in alternate courses of four rows of brick and four of stone, with two rows of windows and a wooden roof (Fig. 154). It terminates at the north in an arch and a semicircular apse in brick. A window in the apse is flanked by two niches, and there is also a pair of niches facing one another in the piers of the arch. The entrance is now in the middle of the west wall.



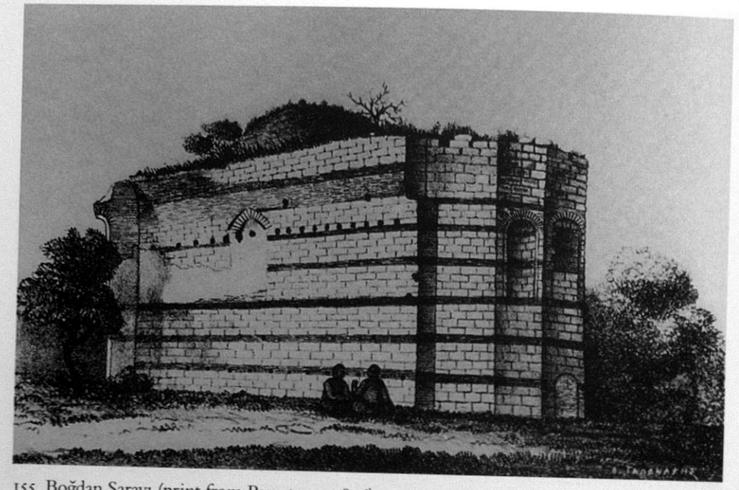
154. Kefeli Mescidi, looking north toward the apse

P. Grossman, in a study published in 1966, found evidence that the building originally had a triple nave, with side aisles to east and west of the present nave, of which only the end walls of the west aisle survive, the east aisle having vanished completely. Grossman dated the church to the ninth century, based on a study of its masonry. But Thomas Mathews disagrees, dating it to the Palaeologan era, based on the niches inside the apse, of which the only other example in the city is in the Church of the Mouchliotissa, a Palaeologan foundation.

Boğdan Sarayı

The ruin known as Boğdan Sarayı is on the Sixth Hill, about a hundred meters north of Kefeli Camii. All that remains of the building is the central part of its apse, which forms part of a storage area for used truck tires.

The name of the structure stems from the fact that in the early sixteenth century it formed part of the *saray,* or palace, of the envoys of the Moldavian *hospodar,* a prince known in Turkish as *boğdan*. This was apparently the chapel of



155. Boğdan Sarayı (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)

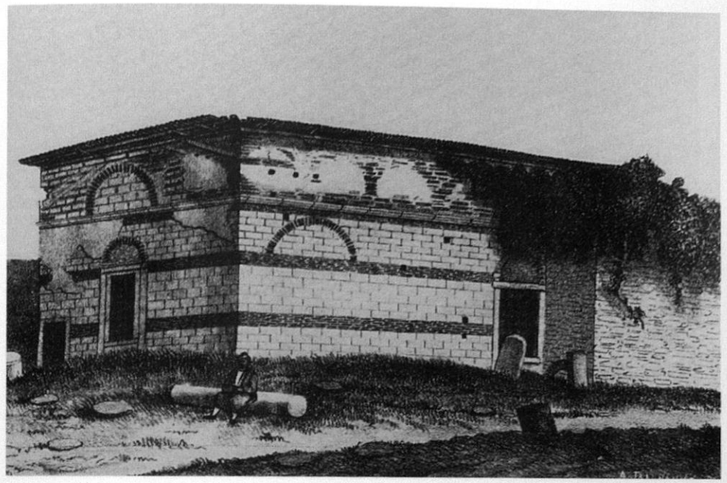
Boğdan Sarayı, which Paspates thought was dedicated to St. Nicholas. A. Mordtmann, however, writing in 1892, believed that it was dedicated to the Theotokos and was part of the celebrated Monastery and Church of St. John the Baptist in Petra, an opinion with which Van Millingen agreed. The palace of the Moldavian envoys was destroyed by fire in 1784, after which this chapel was abandoned and fell into ruins

A lithograph (Fig. 155) in Paspates' book, published in 1877, shows that the building was then still intact, though grass and bushes were growing on and around its dome. When Van Millingen surveyed the building, at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was being used as a cowshed. Van Millingen tentatively dated Boğdan Sarayı to the twelfth century, while the Turkish Byzantinist Semavi Eyice has placed it in the Palaeologan era, a view with which Thomas Mathews concurs.

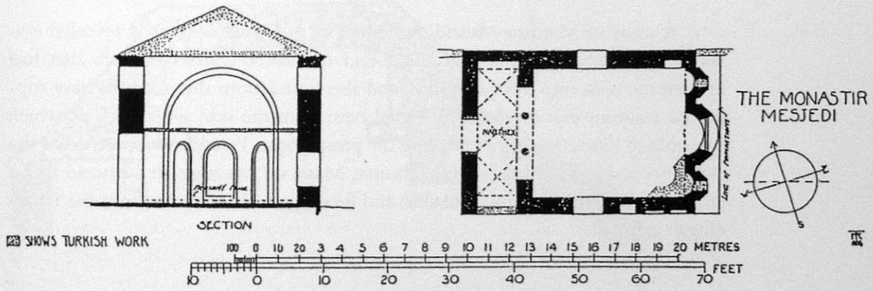
Manastir Mescidi

The former Byzantine church known as Manastır Mescidi (Fig. 156, Plate LI) is in the valley between the Sixth and Seventh Hills, some 400 meters inside the ancient Theodosian walls. After a restoration in the 1950s, Manastır Mescidi is once again a working mosque, located inside the bus terminal on the south side of Millet Caddesi, the avenue that leads into the city from Topkapı, the ancient Gate of St. Romanus in the Theodosian Walls.

Absolutely nothing is known of the history of this building in either Byzantine or Ottoman times. The Turkish name of the building means "the small mosque of the monastery," which suggests that it was the chapel of a monastic establishment. Paspates tentatively identified Manastır Mescidi as the Chapel of



156. Manastir Mescidi (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)



157. Plan and section of Manastır Mescidi (from Van Millingen)

the Theotokos founded in the thirteenth or fourteenth century by Phocas Maroules, a court official under Andronicus II, who erected it on the site of an ancient church dedicated to the three martyred sisters SS. Menodora, Metrodora, and Nymphodora. Both Van Millingen and Janin agreed with this identification, although the evidence is very tenuous.

The building (Fig. 157) is rectangular in plan, preceded on the west by a narthex of three groin-vaulted bays that opens into the naos through a triple arcade carried by two marble columns with capitals (Fig. 158). The cushion capitals on the columns are decorated on the east and west with a five-foliate leaf and on the south with a cross in a circle. The naos terminates on the east in three semicircular apses. The side apses are shallow niches, scarcely separated from the central apse, and show three sides on the exterior. The central apse has six sides on the exterior and is now penetrated by a large Turkish window.



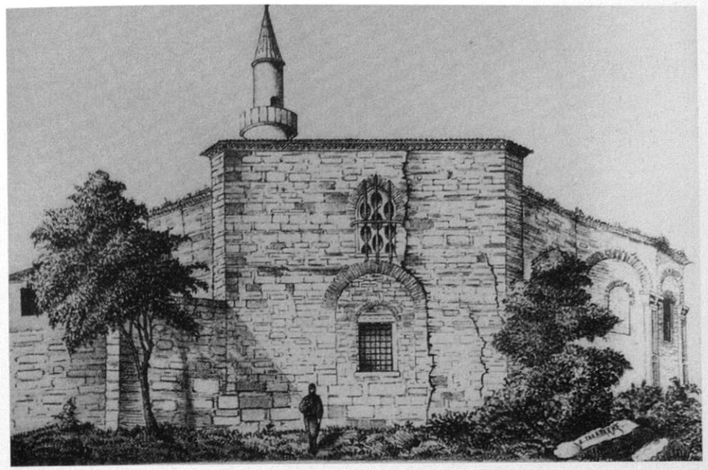
158. Manastir Mescidi, columns at the rear of the nave

A study of Manastır Mescidi published by A. Pasadaios in 1965 revealed evidence of a more complex plan. He found the lower courses of walls that had divided the naos into three divisions, and also foundations that seem to have supported columns that divided the central nave from the side aisles, each of which appeared to have a small apse flanking the present apse. Pasadaios reconstructed the elevation as a vaulted basilica, but Thomas Mathews has suggested instead that a cross-in-square plan is more probable, and he suggests that it dates from the Palaeologan era.

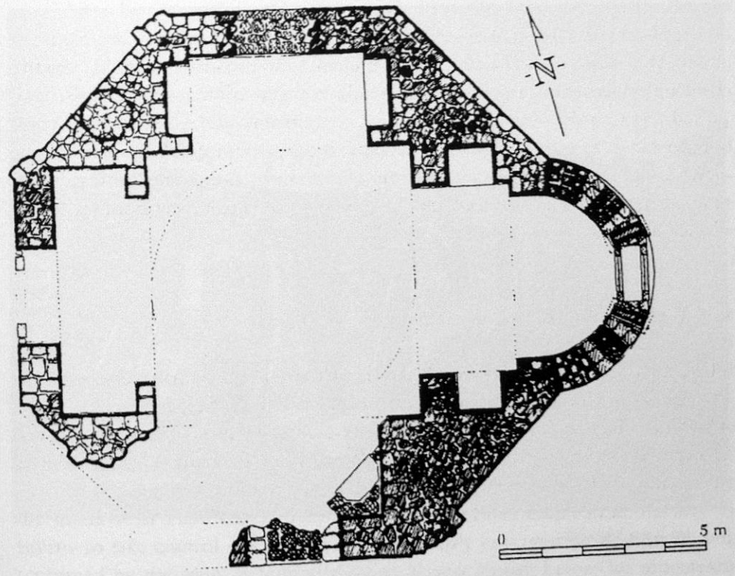
Isa Kapi Mescidi

There are the remains of another Byzantine church in the Samatya district, some 250 meters to the northeast of Sancaktar Mescidi (Figs. 159, 160). The church, which is a fragmentary ruin built into a sixteenth-century Ottoman complex, also ruined, was discovered in 1925 by M. Alpatov and N. Brunov, having escaped the notice of Van Millingen and other earlier Byzantinists.

The complex, known locally as Isa Kapı Mescidi (Figs. 161, 162) consists of two walls of a Byzantine church and the wreck of a medrese by Sinan, the great Ottoman architect of the sixteenth century. Only the south and east walls of the church remain, along with fragments of the apses. It was of the simplest kind: an oblong room without aisles ending at the east in a large projecting apse and two tiny side apses. In the southern side apse, there could be seen till recently the traces of frescoes, which have now almost completely disappeared. The church is thought to date from the beginning of the fourteenth century, but nothing is known of its history, nor even the name of the saint to whom it was dedicated.

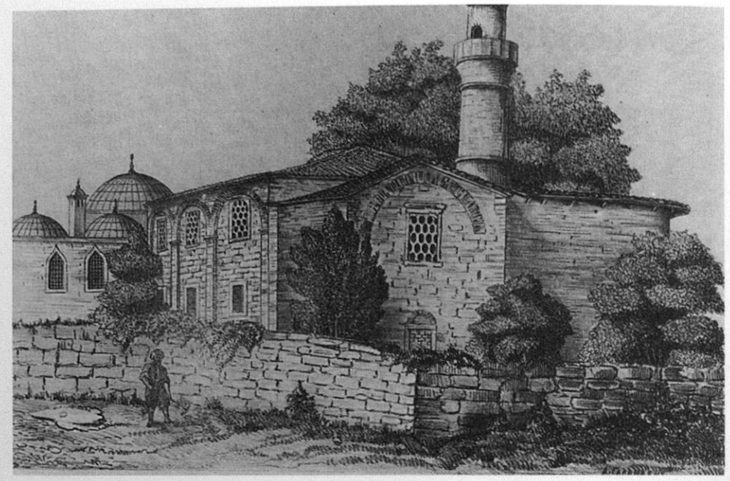


159. Sancaktar Mescidi (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)



160. Plan of Sancaktar Mescidi (from Pasadaios)

Around 1560 the church was converted into a mosque by Hadım (the Eunuch) Ibrahim Paşa, who at the time was grand vezir under Süleyman the Magnificent and who added to it a handsome medrese designed by Sinan. Both mosque and medrese were destroyed by the great earthquake of 1894, and they have remained abandoned ever since.



161. Isa Kapı Mescidi (print from Paspates, *c.* 1876)



162. Isa Kapı Mescidi

The name Isa Kapı means "Gate of Christ," and some scholars have suggested that it preserves the memory of one of the gates in the city walls built by Constantine the Great, which are thought to have passed close by. This is possible, but the evidence is inconclusive. Nevertheless, romantics perpetuate the tradition that this ruin is associated with the Gate of Christ, thus linking modern Istanbul with the city of Constantine.

∽ 13

The Fall of Byzantium

Constantine XI Dragases was forty-four when he became emperor. He had been married twice, first to Magdalena Tocco, who died in 1429, and then to Dorino Gattilusio, who passed away in 1442. Neither wife had borne him a child, and so after he came to the throne, efforts were made to arrange a dynastic marriage, but without success.

After his coronation, Constantine divided the Despotate of the Morea between his two brothers, with Thomas ruling in Achaia and Demetrius in Mistra. He then left Mistra for Constantinople, where he arrived on 12 March 1449. Shortly afterward he sent a courier to Sultan Murat to convey his greetings and to ask for a peace agreement.

Constantine began his reign in a divided capital, for most of the clergy and people of Constantinople were totally opposed to the Decree of Union. Constantine was determined to uphold the union, for he believed that it offered the only hope of obtaining help from the West, without which the empire was doomed. The principal opponent to this policy was George Scholarius, who in 1450 left the emperor's service and retired to the monastery of the Pantokrator as a monk, taking the name Gennadius. The patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory III Mammes, tried to support the emperor and at the same time keep peace within the Church. But Gennadius and other opponents of union wrote and spoke against the policy with such force that Gregory eventually found his position untenable, and in August 1451 he abandoned Constantinople and went to Rome, never to return.

Murat II died at Edirne on 3 February 1451. His death was kept secret by the grand vezir Halil Çandarlı so that Prince Mehmet could make his way to Edirne to take control. He arrived on 18 February 1451, and on that day he was acclaimed by the army as Sultan Mehmet II, one month before his nineteenth birthday.

Soon after Mehmet came to the throne he began making plans for the conquest of Constantinople. His first step was to order the construction of the fortress of Rumeli Hisarı on the European shore of the Bosphorus directly across from Anadolu Hisarı. When the fortress was completed, in August 1452, it cut off Constantinople from the Black Sea.

Constantine made desperate efforts to obtain help from the West. Pope Nicholas V appointed Cardinal Isidore of Kiev as papal legate to Constantinople. He also sent 200 Neapolitan archers, who arrived with Isidore on 26 October 1452. Isidore pressed Constantine to agree to a formal declaration of union, which was read out in Hagia Sophia on 12 December of that year. But most of the populace refused to accept the union, and thenceforth they stayed away from Hagia Sophia in protest.

Throughout the winter Constantine feverishly prepared for the coming siege, stocking food and munitions and mobilizing the populace to repair the city's defenses. He assigned George Sphrantzes the task of taking a census of the able-bodied men of the city, and the number came to only about 7,000, including the Venetians and Genoese who had volunteered to help the Greeks, as well as the Neapolitans who had come with Cardinal Isidore. The small number of fighting men is a measure of how much the population of Constantinople had fallen in the late half of the fifteenth century, as people fled the doomed city to seek refuge in the West. The only significant reinforcements came from the Genoese, a contingent of 700 troops, under Giovanni Giustiniani Longo, who was given command of the city's defenses, while the local Venetians put their fleet at the disposal of the emperor.

Mehmet set his entire army under march toward Constantinople early in the spring of 1453, and his advance guard pitched their tents in view of the Theodosian Walls on 2 April, Easter Monday. Three days later Mehmet arrived with the rest of his army, a force estimated at about 80,000. He established his headquarters within sight of the Gate of St. Romanus, midway along the Theodosian Walls. Then the sultan set up his artillery park, the pride of which was a colossal cannon called Urban, which could fire a thousand-pound cannonball a mile. The first bombardment began on 6 April, and Urban's huge cannon-balls smashed against the land walls with devastating effect. But each night the populace worked to repair the damage done to the walls, as the emperor offered constant advice and encouragement.

The Ottoman fleet was repelled when it made an attempt to break through the chain at the mouth of the Golden Horn. Then on 18 April the Ottoman infantry launched a surprise attack on the section of wall that had suffered the most damage. This was the *mesoteichion*, literally "the middle of the wall," where the Theodosian Walls descend into the valley of the Lycus. But despite the ferocity of the offensive and the ruinous condition of the walls, the attack was beaten back. Two days later ships arrived with supplies from Genoa and Sicily, eluding the Ottoman warships that tried to prevent them from entering the Golden Horn. But this was the last relief to reach the city, for on 22 April Mehmet had his fleet dragged over the heights of Pera into the Golden Horn, bypassing the great chain and giving the Turks control of the harbor.

The bombardment continued until Sunday, 27 May, when Mehmet sent a message demanding unconditional surrender, though he offered to let Constantine leave unharmed to establish a fief elsewhere under Ottoman suzerainty. The sultan also indicated that he would be "merciful" to the people of the city if they surrendered; otherwise they would face the full fury of his wrath. Constantine rejected the sultan's offer, whereupon Mehmet commanded his vezirs to begin preparation for an all-out attack on the city, promising his troops three days of plunder when they conquered Constantinople.

Constantine spent the following day making final preparations to defend against the attack. He ordered all the sacred relics to be brought forth from the city's churches and carried in procession, particularly the icons of the Virgin Hodegitria and the Virgin Blachernitissa, which had for so many centuries protected Constantinople from its enemies.

That evening everyone who was not on duty along the walls began congregating in Hagia Sophia, praying for the city's salvation. Constantine appeared in the Great Church shortly before midnight, accompanied by his Greek and Italian knights, and he prostrated himself before the high altar, lying there for some time in absolute silence. He then went to the Blachernai Palace, accompanied by his friend George Sphrantzes, who would later write a history of the last days of Byzantium. Constantine assembled the members of his household and said goodbye to each of them in turn, asking their forgiveness for any unkindness he might ever have shown them. "Who could describe the tears and groans in the palace?" Sphrantzes writes. "Even a man of wood and stone could not help weeping."[1] After leaving the palace, Constantine and Sphrantzes rode to the Gate of the Kaligaria. They dismounted there, and Sphrantzes waited while Constantine ascended one of the towers beside the gate, listening to the ominous sounds of the Ottoman army preparing for the final assault, after which he returned and mounted his horse once again. Sphrantzes said goodbye to Constantine for the last time, and then he watched as the emperor rode off toward his command on the Murus Bacchatureus, the section of the *mesoteichion* by the Gate of St. Romanus.

The Ottoman engineering battalions had been working through the night filling in the fosse in front of the mesoteichion, where the main attack was to be made. About two o'clock in the morning of Tuesday 29 May, seeing that preparations were complete, Mehmet gave the signal for the attack to begin. The first assault was made by the *başıbozuks*, irregular shock troops who charged with wild battle cries to the sounds of drums and bagpipes. The watchmen on the towers within Constantinople heard the noise and began ringing all the church bells of the city to alert the populace. Meanwhile the *başıbozuks* had made their way across the fosse and set up scaling ladders against the walls, some of them ascending to the battlements before they were cut down by the defenders. After two hours of intense fighting, the *başıbozuks* were withdrawn, having worn down the defenders with their unrelenting attacks.

Mehmet then launched the second wave, the regular Anatolian infantry under the command of Ishak Paşa, their charge accompanied by a heavy bombardment from the Ottoman artillery. An hour before dawn Urban scored a direct hit on the *mesoteichion*, creating a breach through which some 300 of the Ottoman infantry began to make their way through into the city. But they were quickly surrounded and slaughtered by the defenders, led by the emperor himself. This broke the brunt of the assault and led Ishak Paşa to withdraw his infantry.

The sultan then brought on the Janissaries, the elite corps of the Ottoman army. Their charge carried them to the ramparts of the inner wall, where they fought hand to hand with the defenders. A group of them made their way through a sally port called the Kerkoporta, just to the south of the palace now known as Tekfursarayı, capturing a tower beside the gate, from which they flew the Ottoman banner with its star and crescent. At that moment Giustiniani was gravely wounded, whereupon Constantine rushed to his side and pleaded with him to remain at his post. But Giustiniani was unable to remain, and his men carried him to a Genoese ship in the Golden Horn.

The sultan then ordered another assault on the walls, spearheaded by a company led by a giant Janissary named Ulubatlı Hasan. Hasan made his way up to the ramparts of the inner wall before he was struck down, and his men fought their way into the city. Then, since the star and crescent could be seen flying from the tower beside the Kerkoporta, the cry went out that the city was taken, and as the defenders faltered, the Ottoman soldiers began pouring through the walls. Constantine tried to stem the flood, and when last seen he was at his command post on the Murus Bacchatureus, fighting valiantly beside his faithful comrade John Dalmata. The emperor's body was never found, at least officially, though later legend has it that his remains were identified and secretly buried in one of the Greek churches of the city.

The last pockets of resistance were mopped up before the morning was over. Many of the surviving Italians escaped aboard Venetian ships, leaving the Greeks to face their fate. Mehmet then turned his soldiers loose to loot Constantinople for three days, on condition that they did not destroy the city's buildings, which now belonged to him. But from contemporary accounts it would appear that the Ottoman troops destroyed much of the city. A number of contemporary chroniclers write of the Ottoman sack of Constantinople, the most reliable account being perhaps that of Kritoboulos of Imbros, who estimated that some four thousand civilians were killed when the city fell. Kritoboulos describes Sultan Mehmet's entry into the great city he had just conquered, shocked at the destruction he saw on all sides:

> After this the sultan entered the City and looked about to see its great size, its situation, its grandeur and beauty, its teeming population, its loveliness, and the costliness of its churches and public buildings. . . . When he saw that a large number had been killed, and . . . the wholesale ruin of the City, he was filled with compassion and repented not a little at the destruction and plundering. Tears fell from his eyes as he groaned deeply and passionately, "What a city have we given over to plunder and destruction!"[2]

After his triumphal entry into city, Sultan Mehmet, now known as Fatih, or the Conqueror, visited Hagia Sophia and ordered that it be converted into a mosque. Muslim services were held there for the first time on the occasion of the noon prayer that Friday. Later on the day of his entry, Mehmet inspected the ruins of the Great Palace on the First Hill, long abandoned by the emperors of Byzantium in favor of the Blachernai Palace on the Sixth Hill. When the Conqueror walked through the ruined halls of the palace, he was profoundly saddened, and a Turkish chronicler reports that Mehmet was so moved as to recite a melancholy couplet by the Persian poet Saadi, who refers to the legendary Persian palace of Afrasiab:

> The spider is the curtain-holder in the Palace of the Caesars.
> The owl hoots its night call on the Towers of Afrasiab.

Muslim rulers traditionally allowed their troops to sack a captured city for three days, but Fatih seems to have called a halt to the looting on 30 May 1453, the day after the conquest. He then made an inspection of the city, which later came to be called Istanbul, a corruption of the Greek *eis tin poli*, meaning "in the city" or "to the city." He announced that it would be his new capital as soon as it was restored and repopulated. Fatih encouraged the return of those Greeks who had fled from the city before the conquest, and he also resettled there all of the prisoners who fell to his share of the spoils. Aside from these, most of the new population resulted from an imperial decree calling for a resettlement. The new settlers, who included Muslims, Christians, and Jews, came from all over the Ottoman Empire, many of them captured in Fatih's numerous campaigns following the conquest of Constantinople.

The non-Muslims among the Sultan's subjects were grouped into one or another *millet*, or nation, according to their religion, each headed by its own religious leader. Thus the Greek millet was headed by the Greek Orthodox patriarch, the Armenians by the Gregorian patriarch, and the Jews by the chief rabbi.

There was no Greek Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople at the time of the conquest. And so after peace was restored, the Greek Orthodox clergy in the city were allowed to elect a new patriarch, who was approved by Fatih. The new patriarch was the monk Gennadius, the former George Scholarius, who was undoubtedly chosen because of his opposition to the policy of union with Rome in the last years of the Byzantine era. Gennadius took office on 1 January 1454, when Fatih personally escorted him to the Church of the Holy Apostles, which had been designated as the site of the new patriarchate. The Greek Orthodox patriarchate was subsequently moved to the Church of the Pammakaristos and later still to several other places before it was established at its present site, the Church of St. George in the Fener, the old Greek quarter on the Golden Horn below the Sixth Hill.

During the century after the conquest, all but two of the extant Byzantine churches of the city were converted into mosques, the exceptions being Hagia Eirene and the Church of the Mouchliotissa. Hagia Eirene was within the outer defense walls of Topkapı Sarayı, the great imperial palace that Fatih founded on the First Hill, and since it was in an area where the Janissaries mustered, it became a storehouse for their weapons. As noted earlier, the Mouchliotissa was spared through the intercession of Fatih, who had been petitioned by his Greek architect Christodoulos to let the church remain in the possession of the Greek Orthodox community, as it does to this day.

A number of Byzantine churches have disappeared since the time of the conquest, the most notable being that of the Holy Apostles, which was demolished to make way for Fatih Camii. Many of the surviving Byzantine churches have been restored, both under the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, the most notable being Hagia Sophia and Kariye Camii, the former Church of Christ in Chora. Aside from the churchs, the principal Byzantine monuments surviving in Istanbul are the Theodosian Walls, still awe-inspiring even in ruins; the Hippodrome; the Column of Constantine and other commemorative columns; the Aqueduct of Valens; the Basilica and Binbirdirek Cisterns; the sea walls along the Golden Horn and the Marmara; and the ruins of the Great Palace, the Palace of Blachernai, and Tekfursarayı. Byzantine architectural remnants and works of art are on display in two pavilions of the Instanbul Archaeological Museum, one devoted to *Istanbul through the Ages* and the other to *Byzantium and Its Neighbors*, while other Byzantine works can be seen in the museum courtyard and garden. All of these are visible reminders of the vanished splendor of Byzantium, whose enduring symbol is the great church of Hagia Sophia, still standing supreme on the First Hill of the ancient city.

Such are the Byzantine monuments of Istanbul, Greek Constantinople, ancient Byzantium, the imperial city to which Pierre Gilles thus paid tribute three and a half centuries ago: "It seems to me that while other cities are mortal, this one will endure as long as there are men on earth."[3]

~ APPENDIX I

LIST OF BYZANTINE EMPERORS

Constantine the Great, 324–37
Constantius, 337–61
Julian, 361–3
Valens, 364–78
Theodosius I, 379–95
Arcadius, 395–408
Theodosius II, 408–50
Marcian, 450–7
Leo I, 457–74
Leo II, 474
Zeno, 474–91
Anastasius I, 491–518
Justin I, 518–27
Justinian I, 527–65
Justin II, 565–78
Tiberius I, 578–82
Maurice, 582–602
Phocas, 602–10
Heraclius, 610–41
Constantine II, 641
Heraclonas, 641
Constantine III, 641–68
Constantine IV, 668–85
Justinian II (first reign), 685–95
Leontius, 695–8
Tiberius III, 698–705
Justinian II (second reign), 705–11
Philippicus Bardanes, 711–14
Anastasius II, 714–15
Theodosius III, 715–17
Leo III, 717–41
Constantine V, 741–75
Leo IV, 775–80
Constantine VI, 780–97
Eirene, 797–802
Nicephorus I, 802–11
Stauricius, 811
Michael I, 811–13
Leo V, 813–20
Michael II, 820–9
Theophilus, 829–42
Michael III, 842–67
Basil I, 867–86
Leo VI, 886–912
Alexander, 912–13
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, 913–59
Romanus I Lecapenus, 919–44
Romanus II, 959–63
Nicephorus II Phocas, 963–9
John I Tzimisces, 969–76
Basil II, 976–1025
Constantine VIII, 1025–8
Romanus III Argyrus, 1028–34
Michael IV, 1034–41
Michael V, 1041–2
Theodora (first reign) and Zoe, 1042
Constantine IX, 1042–55
Theodora (second reign), 1055–6
Michael VI, 1056–7
Isaac I Comnenus, 1057–9
Constantine X Ducas, 1059–67
Eudocia Makrembolitissa, 1067
Romanus IV Diogenes, 1068–71

Michael VII Ducas, 1071–8
Nicephorus III Botaneiates, 1078–81
Alexius I Comnenus, 1081–1118
John II Comnenus, 1118–43
Manuel I Comnenus, 1143–80
Alexius II Comnenus, 1180–3
Andronicus I Comnenus, 1183–5
Isaac II Angelus (first reign), 1185–95
Alexius III Angelus, 1195–1203
Isaac II Angelus (second reign), 1203–4
Alexius IV Angelus, 1203–4
Alexius V Ducas Murtzuphlus, 1204
*Theodore I Laskaris, 1204–22
*John III Vatatzes, 1222–54
*Theodore II Lascaris, 1254–8
*John IV Lascaris, 1258–61
Michael VIII Palaeologus, 1259–82
Andronicus II Palaeologus, 1282–1328
Michael IX Palaeologus, 1294–1320
Andronicus III Palaeologus, 1328–41
John V Palaeologus, 1341–91
John VI Cantacuzenus, 1347–54
Andronicus IV Palaeologus, 1376–9
John VII Palaeologus, 1390
Manuel II Palaeologus, 1391–1425
John VIII Palaeologus, 1425–48
Constantine XI Palaeologus (Dragases), 1449–53

* ruled in Nicaea only

~ APPENDIX II

GLOSSARY

Turkish words enclosed in parentheses show the form that they take when they are modified by a preceding noun; for example, Sultan Ahmet Camii (the Mosque of Sultan Ahmet) whereas Yeni Cami (the New Mosque).

abacus the flat square slab on top of a capital, supporting the architrave above it
aedicule a temple; whence a small columnar or pilastered tabernacle used ornamentally
ambo a raised pulpit from which the epistles and gospel are read
ambulatory a passageway around the central area of a church
ambulatory church a church plan in which a domed center bay is surrounded on three sides by aisles
anta (pl. **antae**) projection of the side wall of a building; columns placed between antae are said to be *in antis*
apse the semicircular or polygonal vaulted termination of a church, usually at the east end
arcade a range of arches supported on columns or piers
architrave the beam or lowest division of the entablature, which extends from column to column
archivolt the molded architrave around an arch
arcosolium (pl. **arcosolia**) arched tomb recess housing a sarcophagus or grave pit
ashlar building stone cut into well-finished square or rectangular blocks
astragal a small molding of rounded, convex section
atrium the forecourt of a church or other building
baldachin (or **baldachino**) a freestanding canopy rising above a throne, an altar, or a tomb
barrel vault a continuous vault of semicircular cross-section
basilica in the Roman era, a public market hall or court building; originally a rectangular building with central nave flanked by aisles and an apse at the end; later any large covered hall-like church or other such building
basket-type capital a capital of hemispherical or nearly hemispherical shape, decorated with a wicker design imitating a basket

bema raised area in front of the apse of a church reserved for the clergy
blind arch an arch with no opening
buttress a mass of masonry built up against a wall to withstand the outward pressure of an arch, vault, or dome
cadde (caddesi) an avenue
cami (camii) a mosque
capital the cap or crowning feature of a column, pier, or pilaster
chancel the part of a church containing the altar and seats for the clergy
ciborium a canopy supported by columns over an altar, also called a baldachino
coffer a sunk panel in a vault or ceiling
conch the half dome above an apse
corbel a block of stone or wood, often carved or molded, projecting from a wall and supporting the beams of a roof, floor, vault, or other architectural member
Corinthian one of the orders of ancient Greek architecture, characterized by its carved decoration of acanthus leaves
cornice the crowning or upper portion of the entablature; the projecting molding at the top of a building
crenellations the indentations in the parapet of a fortress wall
cross-domed church one having a cruciform plan with arches or barrel vaults above the crossarms and a central dome
cross-in-square church a structure divided into nine bays, the center bay a large square, the corner bays small squares, the remaining four bays rectangular; the center bay, resting on four columns, is domed, the corner bays are either domed or groin-vaulted, the rectangular bays are, as a rule, barrel-vaulted
cross-vault see **groin vault**
cupola a small dome
curtain wall a wall linking towers in a fortification
cushion-type capital a capital in the form of a cushion
dart-and-tongue a decorative pattern in which the carvings are alternately in shapes resembling darts and tongues
dentils small square or oblong blocks arranged like teeth and used as a decoration for cornices and moldings
diakonikon an apsidal chapel generally to the right of the central apse and usually serving as the sacristy of the church
dome a roof formed by a segment of a sphere
domed basilica a church designed on a square or rectangular plan with vaulted nave, aisles, and galleries and with a dome surmounting the central bay
domical vault a shallow dome rising directly from a square or polygonal base
Doric one of the orders of ancient Greek architecture; the columns stand directly on the platform without any base, and the capitals are plain and saucer-shaped
drum one of the cylindrical blocks of a column; the cylinder that supports a dome
entablature the upper part of an order of architecture comprising architrave, frieze, and cornice and supported by a colonnade

embrasure an opening with sides flaring outward in a wall or parapet of a fortification; a recess of a door or window
epistyle the Greek word for architrave
exedra (pl. **exedrae**) a colonnaded niche
exonarthex the outer vestibule of a church
extrados the outer curve of an arch
four-column church essentially the same as a cross-in-square church
fresco painting done on a wall or other surface while the plaster is still wet
frieze the middle division of a classical entablature, often decorated with carvings in low relief
gable the vertical triangular end of a building from cornice or eaves to roof; a pediment
groin the curved edge formed by the intersection of two vaulting surfaces
groin vault a vault characterized by an arched diagonal groin formed by the intersection of two barrel vaults
hagiasma a sacred spring or well
iconostasis the screen between the nave and chancel of a Greek church, invariably decorated with icons, or holy pictures
imam Muslim cleric
impost the member, usually formed of moldings or a capital, on which an arch rests
intrados the inner curve of an arch
Ionic one of the orders of ancient Greek architecture, with capitals characterized by volutes that resemble ram horns.
jamb one of the vertical lateral members of a door or window enframement that support the lintel
kapı (kapısı) a door or gate
kathisma the imperial loge of the Hippodrome in Constantinople
kilise (kilisesi) church
lintel the horizontal timber or stone, also known as the architrave, that spans a door or window
lunette a semicircular window or wall panel let into the inner base of a concave vault or dome
martyrium the shrine of a Christian martyr
meander a pattern using square or rectangular elements in a scroll-like arrangement
medrese (medresesi) an Islamic college
mescit (mescidi) a small mosque
metatorium an imperial loge
meydan (meydanı) a town square
mihrap the niche in the wall of a mosque indicating the direction of Mecca
mimber the pulpit in a mosque
minaret the spire beside a mosque from which the müezzin, or chanter, gives the call to prayer
mosaic decorative surfaces formed by cementing small pieces (tesserae) of glass, marble ceramic, or semi-precious stone to a surface

mullion a slender vertical member that forms a vertical division between units of a window, door, or screen
naos the sanctuary of a church; the parts reserved for the liturgy
narthex (also called **esonarthex**) the vestibule of a church
nymphaeum an ornamental fountain; a building in which marriages are performed
opus Alexandrinium a patterned surface decoration made of slabs of colored marble, often disc-shaped, with encircling bands forming a figure-of-eight motif
opus sectile a pavement or revetment consisting of marble slabs cut in a variety of shapes, generally geometric
order in ancient Greek architecture, a column, including base (except in the Doric order), shaft, and capital, supporting an entablature
parapet a low protective wall or balustrade at the edge of a platform
parekklesion a side chapel of a church
parateichion the outer terrace of the Theodosian Walls in Constantinople
pastophoria the two side chapels of a church, with the prothesis usually to the left of the central apse and the diakonikon to the right
pendentive the overhanging surface, in the form of a spherical triangle, by means of which the transition is made from the arches supporting a dome to its circular cornice
penetralia in architecture, the innermost parts of a structure
peribolos the terrace between the inner and outer fortifications of the Theodosian Walls in Constantinople
peristyle a range of columns surrounding a courtyard
phiale a fountain in the atrium of a church
pier a rectangular or polygonal mass of masonry from which an arch springs
pilaster a pier engaged to a wall
porphyry a hard stone, red or purple in color
portico a colonnaded space, with a roof supported on at least one side by columns
propylaeum (pl. **propylaea**) a monumental entryway
prothesis an apsidal chapel, usually to the left of the central apse, generally used for the preparation and storage of the species of the Eucharist
pumpkin dome a dome composed of curvilinear segments
quatrefoil a four-lobed foliation in architecture
recessed-brick masonry masonry in which alternating brick courses are recessed from the wall plane and covered by mortar
refectory the dining hall in a monastery, convent, or college
respond the wall pilaster behind a column
reveal the side of an opening, as for a window, between a frame and the outer surface of a wall
revetment a facing of stone, marble, or ceramic tile on a wall
rinceau a scroll-like pattern of floral or plant design
roundel a round figure or object, as a circular panel, window, or niche
rotunda a round building, especially one covered by a dome

saucer dome a very shallow dome
semidome half of a dome
skeuophylakion the treasury or sacristy of a church or monastery
soffit the underside or ceiling of an architectural member
sokak (**sokağı**) a street
solea a raised pathway projecting from the bema to the ambo
spandrel the triangular space between two arches in an arcade
sphendone the curved southern end of the Hippodrome in Constantinople
spina the "spine" or central axis of the Hippodrome in Constantinople
spolia (pl.) material reused from an older structure
stele (pl. **stelae**) an upright stone slab
stilted arch a round arch that rises vertically before it springs
stoa a covered hall, its roof supported by one or more rows of columns parallel to the rear wall
stringcourse a horizontal band, as of bricks, forming part of the design of a building
stylobate the raised platform of a building
synthronon tiers of seats for the clergy around the apse of a church
tekke (**tekkesi**) a dervish lodge
tesserae small pieces of stone or glass in a mosaic
tetrapylon a four-sided gateway
tie beam a beam of wood or iron used between arches, walls, and columns to prevent them from spreading apart
trabeated constructed using horizontal beams
transept the transverse unity of a basilican plan, usually between nave and apse
trefoil in architecture, a plan in the form of a trifoliate leaf
tribelum (pl. **tribeloi**) a tripartite archway
türbe (**türbesi**) an Ottoman mausoleum
tympanum (pl. **tympana**) the wall space enclosed by an arch
vault an arched covering in stone or brick
verd antique a green mottled or veined serpentine marble
vousssoirs the truncated wedge-shaped blocks forming an arch
volute a spiral or scroll-shaped architectural ornament
yol (**yolu**) a road

APPENDIX III

SOURCES OF PLANS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

PLANS

Plans and charts have been redrawn from the following sources:

1a. Lyn Rodley, *Byzantine Art and Architecture: An Introduction,* New York, 1994, fig. 1.
1b. Michael Maclagan, *The City of Constantinople,* New York, 1968, fig. 1.
2. John Freely, *Blue Guide Istanbul,* 5th ed., London, 2000, pp. 44–45.
3. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: Dévelopement urbain et répertoire topographique,* Paris, 1964, map I.
4. Cyril Mango, "The Shoreline of Constantinople in the fourth century," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life,* Nevra Necipoğlu, Leiden-Köln-Oxford, 2001, pp. 319–33, fig. 1.
5. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: Dévelopement urbain et répertoire topographique,* Paris, 1964, map II.
6. W. Müller-Weiner, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls,* Tübingen, 1977, fig. 48.
8. W. Müller-Weiner, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls,* Tübingen, 1977, fig. 44.
15. W. Müller-Weiner, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls,* Tübingen, 1977, fig. 298.
18. Jonathan Bardill, "The Golden Gate in Constantinople: A Triumphal Arch of Theodosius I," *American Journal of Archaeology* 103-4, (October 1999), fig. 3.
19. Cyril Mango, *Le Développement Urbain De Constantinople (IV–VII siecles),* Paris, 1990, Plan II.
20. Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites,* London, 1899, facing p. 41.
21. Cross-section of the Theodosian Walls: Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites,* London, 1899, between pp. 106 and 107.
24. The German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul.
25. W. Müller-Weiner, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls,* Tübingen, 1977, fig. 109.
30. Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their Architecture and History,* London, 1912, fig. 12.

35. Martin Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, Austin and London, 1989, fig. 48.
38. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, facing p. 64.
40. W. Müller-Weiner, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen, 1977, fig. 75.
41. Robert L. Van Nice, *St. Sophia in Istanbul: An Architectural Survey*, Washington, D.C., vol. 1, 1965, vol. 2, 1980.
58. Piero Sanpaolesi, "La chiesa dei ss. Sergio e Bacco Constantinopoli," *Rivisita dell'instituto nazionale d'archaeologia a storia dell arte*, n. s. 10 (1961), 116–80, fig. 1.
64. Urs Peschlow, *Die Irenekirche in Istanbul: Untersuchungen zur Architectur*, Tubingen, 1977, fig. 2.
71. W. Müller-Weiner, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen, 1977, fig. 323.
74. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 573.
76. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 573.
78. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 573.
81. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 574.
82. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, facing p. 304.
84. Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, Princeton, 1999, fig. 24.
86. Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, Princeton, 1999, fig. 80.
90. Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, Princeton, 1999, fig. 2.
91. Cecil L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul*, Princeton, 1981, fig. 29.
92. Cecil L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul*, Princeton, 1981, figs. 66 and 67.
93. Cyril Mango, "The Palace of the Boukoleon," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, edited by Kurt Weitzmann, Princeton, 1995, pp. 41–51, fig. 5.
94. W. Müller-Weiner, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen, 1977, fig. 126.
96. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 574.
97. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 575.
98. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, facing p. 384.
100. Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their Architecture and History*, London, 1912, fig. 73.
104. Robert Ousterhout, *The Architecture of Kariye Camii in Istanbul*, Washington, D.C., 1987, fig. 161.
107. Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, Princeton, 1999, fig. 80.

114. H. Schafer, *Die Gül Camii in Istanbul: Ein Beitrag zur mittlebyzantischen Kirchenarchitektur Konstantinopolid*, Tübingen, 1973.
119. Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their Architecture and History*, London, 1912, fig. 70.
122. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 575.
124. Cecil L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: Architecture and Decoration*, Mainz, 1997, fig. 3.
125. Cecil L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: Architecture and Decoration*, Mainz, 1997, figs. 29 and 30.
129. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, facing p. 416.
130. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 576.
131. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, p. 577.
132. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, translated by Joan Hussey, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1968, facing p. 544.
134. W. Müller-Weiner, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen, 1977, fig. 275.
136. Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their Architecture and History*, London, 1912, fig. 96.
139. Lyn Rodley, *Byzantine Art and Architecture: An Introduction*, New York, 1994, fig. 234.
143. Cyril Mango and Ernest J. W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–63," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964), 319–33, fig. A.
146. Robert G. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*, Washington, D.C., 1987, fig. 8.
153. W. Müller-Weiner, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen, 1977, fig. 168.
157. Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their Architecture and History*, London, 1912, fig. 89.
160. A. Pasadaios, *Epi dio byzantinon mnemeion tes Konstantinoupoleos agnostou onomasia*, Athens, 1965, fig. A.

PHOTOGRAPHS

The following sources of photographs are gratefully acknowledged:

German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul
Figures: 22, 23, 26, 32, 44, 45, 53, 54, 55, 56, 65, 66, 68, 69, 75, 77, 79, 80, 95, 112, 117, 118, 138, 149, 151, 162

Anthony E. Baker
Figures: 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 31, 33, 39, 59, 60, 61, 62, 72, 73, 87, 88, 101, 102, 105, 108, 109, 110, 111, 115, 116, 120, 121, 125, 126, 127, 128, 137, 140, 141, 154, 158

Plates: II, III, VI, VII, XIV, XV, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXIX, XL, XLI, LI

Tahsin Aydoğmuş
Figures: 34, 37, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 63, 67, 70, 133, 144, 147, 148,
Plates: I, IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVIII, XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVI, XLVII, XLVIII, XLIX, L

Ahmet Ş Çakmak
Plate: XIII

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 C. J. G. Turner, "The Career of George-Gennadius Scholarius," *Byzantion* 39 (1969): 420–55.

CHAPTER 1: BYZANTIUM

1 Procopius, *Edifices,* trans. H. B. Dewing and Glanville Downey (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).
2 Herodotus, *The Histories,* trans. Aubrey de Selincourt (London: Penguin, 1954).
3 Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius), *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* based on the 1729 translation by John Ball, ed. Ronald G. Musto, 2nd ed. (New York: Ithaca Press, 1988).
4 Theopompus of Chios, in *The Greek Anthology,* trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1917).
5 Athenaeus of Naucratis, *The Deipnosophists,* trans. C. B. Gulick (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927).
6 Moero of Byzantium, in *The Greek Anthology,* trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1917).
7 Dio Cassius, *Roman History,* trans. E. Cary (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914).
8 John Malalas, *Chronographia,* ed. L. Dindorf, in *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae* (Bonn, 1829–97).
9 Gilles, *Antiquities of Constantinople,* 15.
10 Ibid.
11 Cyril Mango, "The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople," *Arkaeologisk-kunthistoriske Meddeleser ungivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskan Bind* 4, no. 4 (1959).
12 *Chronicon Paschale,* trans. Cyril Mango, in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453, Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 19.
13 Dionysius Byzantius, trans. W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, in *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople* (London and New York: MacMillan, 1894).

CHAPTER 2: THE CITY OF CONSTANTINE

1 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini,* trans. A. C. McGiffert, Library of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1900).
2 *Chronicon Paschale,* trans. Cyril Mango, in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453, Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin, eds., *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden R.J. Brill, 1984).
6 Zosimus, *Historia Nova,* trans. J. J. Buchanan and H. T. Davis (San Antonio, Texas: Trinity University Press, 1967).
7 *Chronicon Paschale.*
8 Socrates, trans. W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, in *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople* (London and New York: MacMillan, 1894).
9 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini.*
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *The Book of Ceremonies,* trans. W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, in *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople* (London and New York: MacMillan, 1894).
13 Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture,* 4th ed., revised by Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Ćurčić (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986).
14 Thomas F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1976).

CHAPTER 3: THE IMPERIAL CAPITAL

1 Zosimus, *Historia Nova,* trans. J. J. Buchanan and H. T. Davis (San Antonio, Texas: Trinity University Press, 1967).
2 Libanius of Antioch, *Selected Works,* trans. A. F. Norman. 2 vols. (London and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969, 1977).
3 Zosimus, *Historia Nova.*
4 Themistius, trans. Alexander Van Millingen, in *Byzantine Constantinople: The walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London: John Murray, 1899).
5 John Antiochenus, in *Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum,* vol. 3 and 4, edited by C. Müller, (Paris, 1885, 1883).
6 Cyril Mango, *Constantinople and Its Hinterland* (Aldershot Variorum, 1995).

CHAPTER 4: THE LATE ROMAN CITY

1 *The Greek Anthology,* trans. W. R. Paton, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1917).
2 Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius), *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* based on the 1729 translation by John Ball, edited by Ronald G. Musto, 2nd ed. (New York: Ithaca Press, 1988).
3 Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London: MacMillan, 1912).
4 James G. Crow, "The Long Walls of Thrace," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland,* ed. Cyril Mango (Aldershot, Variorum 1995).
5 *The Greek Anthology.*
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.

CHAPTER 5: THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN

1 *Narratio de S. Sophia,* trans. Cyril Mango, in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* 312–1453, *Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).
2 Procopius, *Edifices,* trans. H. B. Dewing and Glanville Downey (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).
3 Ibid.
4 Procopius, *Secret History,* trans. H. B. Dewing and Glanville Downey (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940).
5 Procopius, *Edifices.*
6 Ibid.
7 Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius), *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* based on the 1729 translation by John Ball, edited by Ronald G. Musto, 2nd ed. (New York: Ithaca Press, 1988).
8 Procopius, *History of the Wars,* trans. H. B. Dewing. 7 vols. (London, 1914–40).
9 Paul the Silentiary, trans. W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, in *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople* (London and New York: MacMillan, 1894).
10 Evagrius, trans. Cyril Mango, in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453, Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

CHAPTER 6: HAGIA SOPHIA

1 Procopius, *Edifices,* trans. H. B. Dewing and Glanville Downey (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Agathias, trans. Cyril Mango, in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453, Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).
5 Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane,* 1403–1406, trans. by Guy Le Strange (London, 1928).
6 Buondelmonti, *Liber Insularum Archipelagi,* trans. W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, in *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople* (London and New York: MacMillan, 1894).
7 Paul the Silentiary, trans. W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, in *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1894).
8 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *The Book of Ceremonies,* trans. W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, in *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople* (London and New York: MacMillan, 1894).
9 Paul the Silentiary.
10 Antony of Novgorod, trans. W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, in *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople* (London and New York: MacMillan, 1894).
11 Paul the Silentiary.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Michael Psellus, *Chronographia,* trans. E. R. A. Sewter, (London: Penguin, 1953).
18 Niketas Choniates, translated by Harry Magoulias as *O City of Byzantium* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984).
19 G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Istanbul in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984).

CHAPTER 7: JUSTINIAN'S OTHER BUILDINGS

1 John of Ephesos, *Ecclesiastical History,* pt. 3, edited and translated by R. P. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1866).
2 Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture,* London: MacMillan, 1912
3 Ibid.
4 Procopius, *Edifices,* trans. H. B. Dewing and Glanville Downey (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius), *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* based on the 1729 translation by John Ball, edited by Ronald G. Musto, 2nd ed. (New York: Ithaca Press, 1988), 163.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.

CHAPTER 8: THE MEDIEVAL CITY

1 Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius), *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* based on the 1729 translation by John Ball, edited by Ronald G. Musto, 2nd ed., (New York: Ithaca Press, 1988).
2 Liutprand of Cremona, *The Works of Liutprand of Cremona,* trans. F. A. Wright (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1930).
3 Photios, *The Homilies of Photios,* trans. Cyril Mango, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

CHAPTER 9: THE MACEDONIAN DYNASTY

1 Michael Psellus, *Chronographia,* trans. E. R. A. Sewter, (London: Penguin, 1953).
2 Robert Ousterhaut, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
3 *Ekphrasis of Nea Ekklesia,* trans. Cyril Mango, in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* 312–1453, *Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

4 Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius), *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* based on the 1729 translation by John Ball, edited by Ronald G. Musto, 2nd ed. (New York: Ithaca Press, 1988).
5 Liutprand of Cremona, *The Works of Liutprand of Cremona,* trans. F. A. Wright, (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1930).
6 Cyril Mango, "The Palace of the Boukoleon," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann,* ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
7 Psellus, *Chronographia.*
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
16 Psellus, *Chronographia.*

CHAPTER 10: THE COMNENUS DYNASTY

1 Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London: MacMillan, 1912).
2 Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
3 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople.*
4 Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius), *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* based on the 1729 translation by John Ball, edited by Ronald G. Musto, 2nd ed. (New York: Ithaca Press, 1988).
5 Thomas F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976).
6 Robert de Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople,* trans. Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).
7 Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul.*
8 Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium.*
9 Odo of Deuil, *The Journey of Louis VII to the East,* trans. Virginia Gingerich Berry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).
10 Niketas Choniates, translated by Harry Magoulias as *O City of Byzantium* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984).
11 Ibid.
12 Gilles, *Antiquities of Constantinople.*

CHAPTER 11: THE LATIN OCCUPATION

1 Niketas Choniates, translated by Harry Magoulias as *O City of Byzantium* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984).
2 Ibid.

CHAPTER 12: THE PALAEOLOGUS DYNASTY

1 George Akropolites, *Opera,* ed. A. Heisenberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903).
2 Nikephoros Gregoras, *Romaiki Historia,* ed. L. Schopens and S. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829–55).
3 Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
4 Ibid.
5 Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London: MacMillan, 1912).
6 Nikephoros Gregoras, *Romaiki Historia.*
7 Ibid.
8 George Sphrantzes, *A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes,* 1401–1477, trans. Marios Philippides (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980).

CHAPTER 13: THE FALL OF BYZANTIUM

1 George Sphrantzes, *A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes,* 1401–1477, trans. Marios Philippides (Amherst.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980).
2 Kritoboulos of Imbros, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror,* trans. Charles T. Riggs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).
3 Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius), *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* based on the 1729 translation by John Ball, edited by Ronald G. Musto, 2nd ed. (New York: Ithaca Press, 1988).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alpatov, M., and N. Brunov. "Une nouvelle église de l'epoque des Paléologues a Constantinople." *Echos d'Orient* 28 (1925): 3–25.

Angold, Michael. *A Byzantine Government in Exile.* Oxford, 1975.

The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204. London, 1984.

Aran, B. "The Church of St. Theodosia and the Monastery of Christ Euergetes." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 28 (1979): 211–28.

Athenaeus of Naucratis. *The Deipnosophists.* Translated by C. B. Gulick. Cambridge, Mass., 1927.

Bardill, Jonathan. "The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople." *American Journal of Archaeology* 101 (1997): 67–95.

"The Golden Gate in Contantinople: A Triumphal Arch of Theodosius I." *American Journal of Archaeology* 103–4 (1999): 671–96.

Belting, H., Cyril Mango, and Doula Mouriki. *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul.* Washington, D.C., 1978.

Brubaker, Leslie, and John Haldon. *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Period (ca. 680–850): The Sources.* Aldershot, 2001.

Cameron, Averil. *The Later Roman Empire, A.D.* 284–430. Cambridge, Mass., 1993.

Cameron, Averil, and Judith Herrin, eds. *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai.* Leiden, 1984.

Choniates, Niketas. Translated by Harry Magoulias as *O City of Byzantium.* Detroit, 1984.

Clari, Robert de. *The Conquest of Constantinople.* Translated by Edgar Holmes McNeal. New York, 1936.

Clavijo, Ruy Gonzalez de. *Embassy to Tamerlane,* 1403–1406. Translated by Guy Le Strange. London, 1928.

Cormack, Robin. *Byzantine Art.* Oxford, 2000.

Crow, James G. "The Long Walls of Thrace." In *Constantinople and Its Hinterland,* edited by Cyril Mango. Aldershot, 1995.

Crow, James G., and Alessandra Ricci. "The Anastasian Wall Project, 1996–1997." In *XVI. Araştırma Sonuçlan Toplantası I. Cilt* (25–29 May 1998, Tarsus), Ankara (1999) 239–46.

Curtis, C. G., and M. Walker. *Broken Bits of Byzantium.* London, 1891.

Dark, Ken, and Ferudun Özgümüş. *The Districts of Koca Mustafa Paşa and Yedikule.* First Preliminary Report of the Istanbul Rescue Survey, 1998. London, 1998.

Demangel, R., and E. Mamboury. *Le quartier des Manganes et la premiere region de Constantinople.* Paris, 1936.

Dio Cassius. *Roman History.* Translated by E. Cary. Cambridge, Mass., 1914.

Downey G. "Byzantine Architects: Their Training and Methods." *Byzantion* 18 (1946): 99–118.

Ebersolt, Jean. *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople.* Paris, 1910.

Ebersolt, Jean, and A. Thiers. *Les églises byzantines de Constantinople.* Paris, 1913.

Eusebius of Caesarea. *Vita Constantini.* Translated by A. C. McGiffert, Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 2. Oxford, 1890–1900.

Eyice, Semavi. *Son devi Bizans Mimarisi,* Rev. ed. Istanbul, 1980.

Foss, Clive, and David Winfield. *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction.* Pretoria, 1986.

Freely, John. *Istanbul: The Imperial City.* London, 1996.

Blue Guide Istanbul. 5th ed. London, 2000.

Forchheimer, Philipp, and Josef Strzygowski. *Byzantinischen Wasserbehalter von Konstantinopel.* Vienna, 1893.

George, W. S. *The Church of St. Eirene at Constantinople.* London, 1913.

Gilles, Pierre (Petrus Gyllius). *The Antiquities of Constantinople.* Based on the 1729 translation by John Ball, edited by Ronald G. Musto. 2nd ed. New York, 1988.

Greek Anthology. Translated by W. R. Paton. Cambridge, Mass., 1917.

Gregoras, Nikephoros. *Romaiki Historia.* Edited by L. Schopens and S. Bekker. 3 vols. Bonn, 1829–55.

Grossman, P. "Beobachtungen an der Kefeli-Mescid in Istanbul." Istanbuler Mitteilungen 16 (1966): 242–49.

Gurlitt, C. *Die Baukunst Constantinopels.* Berlin, 1912.

Harrison, Martin. *A Temple for Byzantium.* Austin and London, 1989.

Haldon, John F. *Byzantium in the Seventh Century.* Cambridge, 1990.

Hallensleben, H. "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ebemaligen Pammakaristos-kirche, der heutigen Fethiye Camii, in Istanbul." Istanbuler Mitteilungen 13–14 (1963–64): 128–93.

Herodotus. *The Histories.* Translated by Aubrey de Selincourt. Harmondsworth, 1954.

Janin, R. *Constantinople byzantine: Dévelopement urbain et répertoire topographique.* Paris, 1964.

La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empre byzantin. I Le siege de Constantinople et l patriarcat oecuménique, iii, Les églises et les monasteres. Paris, 1969.

Jobst, Werner, Behçet Erdal, and Christian Gurtner. *The Great Palace Mosaic.* Istanbul, 1997.

John Antiochenus. In *Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum,* vols. 4 and 5. Edited by C. Müller. Paris, 1885, 1883.

John of Ephesos. *Ecclesiastical History*. Pt. 3. Edited and translated by A. F. Norman. 2 vols. London and Cambridge, Mass., 1969, 1973.

Kazhdan, Alexander P., ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. 3 vols. Oxford, 1991.

Kleiss, Wolfram. "Neue Befunde zur Chalkopratenkirche in Istanbul." Istanbuler Mitteilungen 15 (1965): 149–67.

Kougeas, S., "Ho Georgios Akropolitis ktetor to Paraisin kodikos tou Souida." *Byzantina Metabyzantina* (1949): 61–74.

Krautheimer, Richard. *Three Christian Capitals, Topography and Politics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983.

Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture. 4th ed. Revised by Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Ćurčić. New Haven and London, 1986.

Kuban, Doğan. *Istanbul, an Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinople, Istanbul*. Istanbul, 1996.

Kuniholm, Peter I., and Cecil L. Striker. "The Tie-Beam System in the Nave Arcade of St. Eirene: Structure and Dendrochronology." In *Die Irenekirche in Istanbul: Untersuchungen zur Architektur*, edited by Urs Peshow. Tübingen, 1977.

Laurent, V. *Le corpus des scenes de l'empire byzantin*. Vol. 2, *Le'église*. Paris, 1965.

Lethaby, W. R., and H. Swainson. *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople*. London, 1894.

Libanius of Antioch. *Selected Works*. Translated by A. F. Norman. 2 vols. London and Cambridge, Mass., 1969, 1977.

Liutprand of Cremona. *The Works of Liutprand of Cremona*. Translated by F. A Wright. London, 1930.

Maclagan, Michael. *The City of Constantinople*. New York, 1968.

Macridi, Th., A. H. S. Megaw, C. Mango, and E. J. Hawkins "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul" Dumbarton Oaks Papers 18 (1964): 251–98.

Magdalino, Paul. *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*. *Cambridge*, 1993.

Majeska, G. "St. Sophia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century: The Russian Travelers and the Relics." Dumbarton Oaks Papers 27 (1973): 71–87.

"Notes on the Archaeology of St. Sophia at Constantinople: The Green Marble Bands on the Floor." Dumbarton Oaks Papers 32 (1978): 299–308.

Russian Travelers to Istanbul in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Washington, D.C., 1984.

Mainstone, Rowland J. *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church*. London, 1988.

Malalas, John. *Chronographia*. In *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, edited by L. Lindorf. Bonn, 1828–97.

Mamboury E., and T. Wiegand. *Kaiserpalaste von Constantinopel*. Berlin and Leipzig, 1934.

Mango, Cyril. *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*. Copenhagen, 1959.

Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972. Revised edition, Toronto, 1986.

Byzantine Architecture. New York, 1976.

"The date of the studies Basilica at Istanbul, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978): 115 ff.

Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome. London, 1980.

"The Works of M. I. Nomidis in the Vefa Kilise Camii." *Mesaionica kai neaellinika* 3 (1990): 421–29.

Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV–VII siecles). Paris, 1990.

Studies on Constantinople. Aldershot, 1993.

Constantinople and Its Hinterland. Aldershot, 1995.

"The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate." Dumbarton Oaks Papers 54 (2000): 173–94.

"The Shoreline of Constantinople in the Fourth Century." In *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, edited by Nevra Necipoğlu Leiden, Köln, and Oxford, 2001.

"The Palace of the Boukoleon." In *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, edited by Kurt Weitzmann. Princeton, 1995.

Mango, Cyril, H. Belting, and D. Mouriki. *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos*. (Fethiye Camii) *at Istanbul*. Washington, D.C., 1978.

Mango, Cyril, and Ernest J. W. Hawkins. "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–63." Dumbarton Oaks Papers 18 (1964): 319–33.

Mark, Robert, and Ahmet Ş. Çakmak, eds. *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*. Cambridge, 1992.

Martinay, G., R. B. K. Stevenson, and G. Brett. *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors: First Report*. Oxford, 1947.

Mathews, Thomas F. *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*. University Park, Penn., and London, 1971.

The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey. University Park, Penn., and London, 1976.

Byzantium: From Antiquity to the Renaissance. New York, 1998.

Mathews, T., and E. J. W. Hawkins. "Notes on the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in Istanbul and Its Frescoes." Dumbarton Oaks Papers 39 (1985): 125–34.

Megaw, A. H. S. "The Original Form of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips." Dumbarton Oaks Papers 18 (1964): 279–98.

Meyer, B. "Das Goldene Tor in Konstantinopel." In *Mnemosynon Theodor Weigand*. Munich, 1938.

Meyer-Plath, B., and A. M. Schneider. *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*. Berlin, 1943.

Mordtmann, A. *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople*. Lille, 1892.

Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*. Tübingen, 1977.

Die Hafen von Byzantion Konstantinopolis Istanbul. Tübingen, 1994.

Naumann, R. "Ausgrabungen bei der Bodrum Camii (Myrelaion)." *Annual of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul* 13–14 (1966): 135–42.

"Der antike Rundbau beim Myrelion und der Palast Romanos I Lekapenos." Istanbuler Mitteilungen 16 (1966): 199–216.

Necipoğlu, Nevra, ed. *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln, 2001.

Nichol, Donald M. *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1993.

Odo of Deuil. *The Journey of Louis VII to the East*. Translated by Virginia Gingerich Berry. New York, 1948.

Ostrogorsky, George. *History of the Byzantine State*. Translated by Joan Hussey. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1968.

Ousterhout, Robert G. *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*. Washington, D.C., 1987.

"Some Notes on the Construction of Christos ho Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii) in Istanbul." *Deltion tes Christianikes Archailikes Etaireias* 16 (1991–92): 47–56.

"Reconstructing Ninth–Century Constantinople." In *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* edited by L Brubaker. Aldershot, 1998.

Master Builders of Byzantium, Princeton, 1999.

The Art of the Kariye Camii. London, 2002.

Ousterhout, R., Z. Ahunbay, and M. Ahunbay. "Study and Restoration of the Zeyrek Camii in Istanbul, First Report, 1997–98." Dumbarton Oaks Papers 54 (2000): 265–70.

Özgümüş, Ferudun. "Peribleptos Manastiri (Sulu Manastir)." *Sanat Tarihi Araştırma Dergisi* 14 (1998): 21–32.

Palazzo, B. *Deux anciennes églises dominicaines a Stamboul, Odalar Djami et Kefeli Mescidi*. Istanbul, 1951.

Panchenko, B. "Hag. Ioannes Studios." *Izvestiye russkogo arkheol. instituta* 14 (Sofia, 1909): 136–52; 15 (1911): 250–57; 16 (1912): 1–359.

Pasadaios, A. *Epi dio byzantinon mnemeion tes Konstantinoupoleos agnostou onomasia*. Athens, 1964.

Paspates, A. G. *Byzantinai Meletai: Topographikai kai Istorikai*. Istanbul, 1877.

Peschlow, Urs. *Die Irenekirche in Istanbul: Untersuchungen zür Architektur*. Tübingen, 1977.

Photios. *The Homilies of Photios*. Translated by Cyril Mango. Cambridge, Mass., 1958.

Procopius. *Edifices*. Translated by H, B. Dewing and Glanville Downey. Cambridge, Mass., 1950.

The Secret History. Translated by H. B. Dewing and Glanville Downey. Cambridge, Mass., 1940.

History of the Wars. Translated by H. B. Dewing. 7 vols. London, 1914–40.

Psellus, Michael. *The Chronographia*. Translated by E. R. A. Sewter. London, 1953.

Rice, David Talbot. "Excavations at Bodrum Camii 1930." *Byzantion* 8 (1933): 151–76.

The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors: Second Report. Edinburgh, 1958.

Art of the Byzantine Era. London, 1963.

Rodley, Lyn. *Byzantine Art and Architecture: An Introduction*. New York, 1994.

Sanpaolesi, Piero. "La chiesa dei ss. Sergio e Bacco a Constantinopoli." *Rivista dell'instituto nazionale d'archeologia a storia dell arte*, n. s. 10 (1961): 116–80.

Schafer, H. *Die Gül Camii in Istanbul: Ein Beitrag zur mittelbyzantischen Kirchenarchitektur Konstantinopolis*. Tübingen, 1973.

Schneider, Alfons Maria. *Byzanz: Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archaologie der Stadt*. Berlin, 1936.

Sphrantzes, George. *A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401–1477*. *Translated by Marios Philippides. Amherst, Mass.*, 1980.

Striker, Cecil L. *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul*. Princeton, 1981.

Striker, Cecil L., and Y. Doğan Kuban. *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration*. Mainz, 1997.

Sumner-Boyd, Hilary, and John Freely. *Strolling through Istanbul*. 5th ed. Istanbul, 1996.

Swift, E. H. *Hagia Sophia*. New York, 1940.

Tezcan, Hülya. *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*. Istanbul, 1989.

Treadgold, Warren. *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*. Stanford, 1997.

Turner, C. J. G. "The Career of George-Gennadius Scholarius." *Byzantion* 39 (1969): 420–55.

Underwood, Paul A. "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul." Dumbarton Oaks Papers 9–10 (1956): 298–9; 14 (1960): 215–19.

The Kariye Djami. Vols. 1–3, New York, 1966. Vol. 4, London, 1975.

Van Millingen, Alexander. *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites*. London, 1899.

Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture. London, 1912.

Van Nice, Robert L. *St. Sophia in Istanbul: An Architectural Survey*. Vols. 1 and 2. Washington, D.C., 1965, 1980.

Ward Perkins, J. B. "Notes on the Structure and Building Methods of Early Byzantine Architecture." In *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report*. St. Andrews, 1954.

Zosimus. *Historia Nova*. Translated by J. J. Buchanan and H. T. Davis. San Antonio, 1967.

INDEX

Abagu, khan of the Mongols, 256
Abdül Mecit, sultan, 97
Adrian-John Comnenus, 265
Ahmet I, sultan, 13, 16, 97, 151
Ahunbey, Metin, 220
Ahunbey, Zeynep, 220
Alexander, emperor, 124, 178
Alexius I Comnenus, emperor, 200, 201, 202, 210, 211, 223, 247, 265, 270
Alexius II Comnenus, emperor, 233, 234
Alexius III Angelus, emperor, 237, 245, 246
Alexius IV Angelus, emperor, 245, 246, 247
Alexius V Ducas Murtzuphlus, emperor, 246–7
Alexius Apocaucus, 279
Alexius Strategopoulus, 250
Alpatov. M., 290
Anastasian Walls, 72–3
Anastasius I, emperor, 16, 72, 73, 74, 75
Anastasius II, emperor, 159
Andronicus II Palaeologus, emperor, 96, 232, 258, 259, 263, 270
Andronicus III Palaeologus, emperor, 96, 178, 259, 262, 266, 270, 277–8
Andronicus IV Palaeologus, emperor, 280
Anicia Juliana, princess, 75, 76, 78–9, 113
Anna (Agnes of France), wife of Alexius I and Andronicus I, 233, 234
Anna Comnena, princess, daughter of Alexius I, 202, 211
Anna Dalassena, mother of Alexius I, 199, 201, 202, 204, 205, 211
Anna Ducaina, 265
Anna of Savoy, empress, wife of Andronicus III, 96, 279
Anthemius, prefect of the East, 48, 49
Anthemius of Tralles, 91, 92, 94
Antonina, wife of Belisarius, 80, 81, 86, 87
Aqueduct of Valens, 39–40, 298
Aran, Berge, 223, 226, 284
Arcadius, emperor, 32, 41, 43, 47, 48, 49
Ariadne, empress, daughter of Leo I, 65, 71–2, 74
Aspar, 55, 68
Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (Church of SS. Peter and Mark), 186–8
Attila the Hun, 5
Augoustaion, 30–2, 47, 150–1
Ayakapı Church, 226–7

Baldwin of Flanders, 245, 248, 249, 250
Bardas, caesar, 165, 167
Bardill, Jonathan, 59
Basil I, emperor, 2, 118, 167–8, 169, 170, 171, 174
Basil II, emperor, 96, 169, 189, 190
Basilica Cistern, 30, 43, 59, 146–50, 298
Baths of Zeuxippos, 17, 18, 29
Belisarius, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88
Bessarion of Trebizond, 282
Beyazit I, sultan, 281, 282
Beyazit II, sultan, 67, 136, 260, 271
Binbirdirek Cistern, 59, 298
Blachernai quarter, 19, 49, 54
Blachernai, shrine of the Virgin, 63, 73, 85, 156, 160, 172, 250, 279
Blachernai Palace, 75–6, 232, 234, 252, 254, 264, 279, 280, 297, 298
Boğdan Sarayı, 287–8
Boniface of Montferrat, 245, 248
Book of Ceremonies, 30, 34, 40, 45, 105, 129, 131, 136
Bosphorus, 3, 7, 20, 24, 35, 279, 293
Boukoleon, palace of, 32, 151, 152, 153, 187, 188, 189, 248
Brunov, N., 290
Buchtal, Hugo, 243
Byzantium, city of, 1, 3, 5; founding of, 6; topography, 7; under Persian rule, 8, 9; under Spartans, 9, 10; as independent city-state, 9–11; in Delian Confederacy, 10; during Peloponnesian War, 10; Athenian expedition against, 10; siege by Philip II of Macedon, 10; under Romans, 11; captured and rebuilt by Septimius Severus, 11–12; defence-walls, 12; Hippodrome, 13–17; other monuments, 18, 19
Byzas the Megarian, 6, 20

Chalcedon (Kadıköy), 6, 10, 39, 157–8
Chalke, entryway to Great Palace, 31, 32, 34
Chalkoprateia, 31–2, 65
Christ in Chora, church of (Kariye Camii), 2, 210, 264, 269–75; parekklesion, 275–8
Christodoulos, architect, 257, 297
Christ Pantepoptes, church of (Eski Imaret Camii), 204–7
Christ Pantokrator, church of (Zeyrek Camii), 71, 99, 211–20, 230, 271, 281–2, 283
Christ Philanthropos, monastery of, 215–16

Chronicon Paschale, 13, 17, 18, 25, 26, 29, 30
Chrysopolis (Usküdar), 10
Cistern of Aetius, 55
Cistern of Aspar, 55
Cistern of Pulcheria, 55
Cistern of St. Mocius, 56
Cistern of Theodosius II, 60
Claudius II Gothicus, emperor, 19, 20, 23
Clavijo, Ruy Gonzalez de, 96–7, 211
Column of Arcadius, 47–8
Column of Constantine, 29, 30, 336
Column of Justinian, 86, 150–1
Column of Marcian, 63–5
Constans I, emperor, 27, 30, 35
Constans II, emperor, 173
Constantine I, emperor, 1, 5, 13, 17, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 56, 77, 103–5, 146
Constantine II, emperor, 24, 27, 35
Constantine III, emperor, 159
Constantine IV, emperor, 159
Constantine V, emperor, 138, 160–1
Constantine VI, emperor, 161
Constantine VII Porphryogenitus, emperor, 28, 30, 105, 174, 175, 178, 186, 189, 253
Constantine VIII, emperor, 146, 190, 191, 213
Constantine IX, emperor, 132, 194, 195
Constantine X Ducas, emperor, 200, 201
Constantine XI Dragases, 234, 249–50, 283, 293, 294, 295, 296
Constantine Lips, 175
Constantine, prefect of the East, 49
Constantinian Walls, 26, 49
Constantinople, 1, 23; topography, 3, 5; becomes capital of the Roman Empire in 330, 24–5; plague of 541–2, 89–90; plague of 558, 90; earthquake of 558, 99; Avar attack in 626, 156; Arab attacks in 668–78, 159; plague of 723, 160–1; Bulgars attack in 813; 161; army of First Crusade arrives in 1096, 211; army of Second Crusade arrives in 1146, 232; Venetian merchants evicted in 1171, 232–3; capture and vsack by Fourth Crusade in 1204; 247; Latin occupation 1204–61, 247–50; Byzantines recapture city in 1261, 250; Venetian fleet attacks Galata in 1296 and Genoese massacre Venetian merchants, 261–2; Venetian fleet attacks city in 1302, 262; earthquakes of 1343–4, 100; Ottoman Turks under Beyazit I besiege city 1396–1403, 281–2; Ottomans under Murat II besiege city in 1422; conquered by Ottomans under Mehmet II in 1453, 294–7
Constantius, emperor, 27, 33, 34, 158
Crow, James G., 72–3

Dalmatius, 34
Dandolo, Enrico, doge of Venice, 16, 134–5, 245, 246, 247, 249
Darius, Persian king 8, 9
Dark, Ken, 193
Demetrius Ducas Angelus Palaeologus, 277
Demetrius Palaeologus, brother of Constantine XI, 283, 293
Diocletian, emperor, 23, 24
Dionysius Byzantius, 12, 13, 18

Ebersolt, Jean, 67, 129
Ecumenical Councils: First, 25; Third, 61; Fourth, 64; Seventh, 175
Eirene, empress, wife of John II, 99, 125, 202, 210–11, 214, 230
Eudocia (Athenais), empress, wife of Theodosius II, 49, 62, 75–6
Eudocia Makrembolitissa, empress, wife of Constantine X, 200
Eudoxia, empress, wife of Arcadius, 32, 47, 49
Euphemia, empress, wife of Justin I, 75
Eugenius, pope, 283
Eusebius of Caesarea, 23, 34
Eusebius, grand chamberlain, 36
Eyice, Semavi, 326

Fenari Isa Camii (church of the Theotokos tou Libou), 174–8, 255
Fethiye Camii, see Pammacharistos, church of the Virgin
Firath, Nezih, 76
Forum Amastrianum, 27
Forum of Arcadius, 27
Forum Bovis, 27
Forum of Constantine, 29, 30
Forum Tauri, 27, 43
Forum of Theodosius, 43, 44, 164
Fossati, Gaspare, 97
Fossati, Giuseppe, 97

Galata, 54, 258, 261
Galata Tower, 288
Galla Placidia, daughter of Theodosius I, 49
Gennadius, patriarch, 1, 146, 214, 228, 266, 293, 297
George Akropolites, 257
Gilles, Pierre (Petrus Gyllius), 3, 7, 14–15, 28, 59, 69–70, 86, 147–51, 179, 208, 215, 298
Giustiniani Longo, Giovanni, 294, 296
Golden Gate, 27, 44–7, 48, 250, 251
Golden Horn, 3, 7, 12, 20, 26, 27, 164–5, 220, 232, 254, 261, 294, 298
Goths Column, 19–20
Gratian, emperor of the West, 40, 41
Great Palace, 32, 34, 151–3, 163–4, 186, 251, 252, 296–7, 298
Grossman, P., 287
Gül Camii (church of St. Theodosia), 220–26

Hadrian, emperor, 236
Hagia Eirene, 82, 83, 137–43, 144, 145, 335; old church of, 2, 29, 32, 39, 82, 83, 103, 137, 160
Hagia Sophia, church of (Aya Sofya Camii), 2, 21, 51, 62, 75, 83, 84, 90, 91–2, 93, 130, 144, 152, 160, 161, 178, 187, 230, 233–4, 241, 242, 247, 249, 251, 259, 264, 265, 278, 279, 280, 294, 295, 296, 298; church of Constantius, 39, 48; Theodosian church, 48, 62, 75, 82, 83, 91, 98–9; Justinian's original construction, 90–4, 94–5; original architects (Anthemius and Isidorus), 94; rebuilding after 558 earthquake, 95, 96; subsequent rebuilding, 96–7; as a mosque, 97; as a museum, 97–8; atrium, 98; exonarthex and narthex, 99–102; non-figural mosaics, 102, 124; figural mosaics, 102, 103–5, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 124, 125, 128; Vestibule of the Warriors, 103–4; subsidiary structures, 105, 127, 128; nave, 105–6, 106–08; side aisles, 108–10; nave columns and marbles, 111–14, Christian liturgical structures and furnishings, 114–17; Islamic structures and decorations, 117; galleries, 119–26; dome, 105–6, 126–7
Hallensleben, H., 208
Harbor of Eleutherios, 26
Harbor of Sophia (Kadirga Liman), 154–5
Harrison, Martin, 76, 77, 78, 79
Hebdomon (Bakırköy), 38, 40, 45, 68
Helena, empress, mother of Constantine I, 27, 28
Helena Dragas, empress, wife of Manuel II, 281, 283
Heraclius, emperor, 115, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 189
Heraclonas, emperor, 159

Herodotus, 6, 9
Hippodrome, 1, 13–17, 25, 28–9, 30, 32, 35, 82, 83, 151, 157–8, 188, 189, 233, 234, 298; Colossus, 28; Serpent Column, 28–9; Egyptian Obelisk, 44–5
Holy Apostles (Apostoleion), church of the, 32–4, 39, 297, 298; imperial mausoleum, 33–4, 37, 38, 41, 47, 60, 63, 65, 72, 74, 75, 89, 145–6, 158, 266,
Honorius, emperor of the West, 41, 43, 47 49
Hospice of Samson, 84, 144–5
Hulagu, khan of the Mongols, 256
Hypatius, 82–3

Ibrahim, sultan, 128
iconoclasm, 2, 160, 161, 162, 164
Innocent III, pope, 245
Isaac I Comnenus, emperor, 67, 199
Isaac II Angelus, emperor, 74, 232, 234, 245, 246, 247
Isaac Comnenus, sebastocrator, son of Alexius I, 270, 274–5
Isa Kapı Mescidi, 290
Ishak Paşa, 295
Isidore, cardinal of Kiev, 294
Isidorus of Miletus, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95
Isidorus the Younger, 95
Istanbul Archaeological Museum, 1, 21–2, 27, 43, 44, 48, 150, 152, 181, 217, 244, 298

Janin, R., 285, 289
John I Tzimisces, emperor, 186, 187, 189
John II Comnenus, emperor, 99, 124–5, 202, 210–11, 212, 214, 220, 229–30
John IV Lascaris, emperor, 249, 250
John V Palaeologus, emperor, 96, 118, 279
John VI Cantacuzenus, emperor, 96, 263, 278–79
John VII Palaeologus, emperor, 281
John VIII Palaeologus, 195, 212, 214, 232, 281, 282, 283
John VII, patriarch, 148
John Hunyadi, 283
Joseph, patriarch, 236
Jovian, emperor, 38
Julian the Apostate, emperor, 31, 36, 38, 39, 43, 168
Julius VIII, pope, 147
Justin I, emperor, 75, 76, 83, 154
Justin II, emperor, 154, 269
Justinian I, emperor, 1, 2, 14, 31, 48, 75, 76, 79, 80–89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 103–5, 113–14, 115–16, 119–20, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134–5, 137, 139–40, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 154, 189, 232
Justinian II, emperor, 159

Kalenderhane Camii (church of the Kyriotissa), 235–44
Kariye Camii, see Christ in Chora, church of
Kefeli Mescidi, 285–87
Kilise Camii (Church of St. Theodore), 207–09
Kleiss, Wolfram, 66
Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii (church of St. Andrew in Krisei), 259–61
Kouppas, Peloppida, 271
Krautheimer, Richard, 34, 207, 254
Kritoboulos of Imbros, 296
Krum, khan of the Bulgars, 161
Kuban, Y. Doğan, 235, 236, 237

Ladislas III, king of Poland and Hungary, 283
Leo I, emperor, 62, 63, 65, 71, 75
Leo II, emperor, 65, 71–2
Leo III, emperor, 138, 160
Leo IV, emperor, 161
Leo V, emperor, 161
Leo VI, emperor, 102, 124, 170, 174, 178
Libanius of Antioch, 37, 38
Licinius, tetrarch, 23, 24, 25
Liutprand of Cremona, 163–4, 186–7
Lycus river, 5, 54, 60, 174

Mahmut I, sultan, 117, 235
Mainstone, Rowland J., 124
Mamboury, Ernest, 189, 196
Manastir Mescidi, 288–90
Mango, Cyril, 3, 12, 16, 30, 55, 96, 152, 176, 188, 189, 220, 236, 254–5
Manuel I Comnenus, emperor, 28, 211, 212, 220, 231, 232, 233, 234
Manuel II Palaeologus, emperor, 212, 281, 282, 283
Marble Tower, 54
Marcian, emperor, 61, 62, 63, 64
Maria of Alania, empress, wife of Michael VII, 201, 202
Maria of Antioch, empress, wife of Manuel I, 233
Maria, Despoina of the Mongols, 256, 275
Maria Ducaina, mother-in-law of Alexius I, 270
Maria Ducaina Comnena Palaeogina Blachena, 266, 269
Maria of Trebizond, empress, wife of John VIII, 212, 282
Marmara, Sea of (Propontis), 3, 26, 164, 196, 298
Martyrium of SS. Carpus and Papylus, 56–57
Martyrium of St. Euphemia, 57, 157–8
Mathews, Thomas, 35, 110, 218, 223, 284, 287, 288, 290
Maurice, emperor, 155
Megaw, Arthur H. S., 214
Mehmet I, sultan, 282
Mehmet II (Fatih), sultan, 2, 13, 44, 97, 146, 214, 255, 257, 266, 283, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297
Mese (Middle Way), 13, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33.34
Metochites, Theodore, 270, 271, 273, 274, 275, 276
Michael I, emperor, 161
Michael II, emperor, 162
Michael III, emperor, 105, 118, 162, 165, 166, 167, 171
Michael IV, emperor, 124, 211, 212, 213
Michael V, emperor, 70, 124–5, 213
Michael VI, emperor, 199
Michael VII Ducas, emperor, 70, 201
Michael VIII Palaeologus, emperor, 70, 153, 249, 250, 251, 255, 256, 258, 259
Michael IX, emperor, 259, 263
Michael Ducas Glabas Tarchaniotes, 266, 269
Milion (Miliarium Aureum), 26, 27–8
Mordtmann, A., 288
Mosaic Museum, 151–2
Murat I, sultan, 280
Murat II, sultan, 282, 283, 293
Murat III, sultan, 97, 117, 198, 266
Murat IV, sultan, 117
Mustafa I, sultan, 136
Myrelaion, church of the (Bodrum Camii), 178, 184, 185, 186

Narses, 80, 87
Nea Ekklesia, church of, 171
Nicephorus II Phocas, emperor, 187, 188, 189
Nicephorus III Botaneiates, emperor, 192, 200, 201
Nicholas V, pope, 294

Nika Revolt, 30, 31, 48, 82–3, 91, 144, 145, 146–7, 150, 151
Nikephoros Gregoras, 20, 252, 277
Niketas Choniates, 125, 233, 247

Orhan Gazi, sultan, 262, 278, 279
Osman Gazi, 262
Ousterhout, Robert, 171, 176, 196–98, 208, 220, 228, 229, 255, 265, 266
Özgümüş, Ferudun, 193

Palaces of Antiochus and Lausus, 61–3
Palazzo, B., 285
Pammakaristos, church of the Virgin (Fethiye Camii), 157, 210, 227, 264–9, 297
Panagia Mouchliotissa, church of the (St. Mary of the Mongols), 256–8, 287, 297
Pasadaios, A., 35, 290
Pasinli, Alpay, 152
Paspates, A. G., 35, 288–290
Paul the Silentiary, 98, 100–1, 102, 110, 114, 115, 116
Peschlow, Urs, 20, 54, 138, 242
Philip II, king of Macedon, 10, 18
Philadelphaion, 27
Philippicus Bardanes, emperor, 173
Phocas, emperor, 155
Photius, patriarch, 118
Portico of Severus, 12–13, 26
Princes Isles, 19, 196, 200–01, 212
Procopius, 3, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90, 95, 131, 144, 145–6, 146–7
Psamathion quarter (Samatya), 19
Psellus, Michael, 125, 169, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195–6, 198, 199
Pulcheria, empress, sister of Theodosius II and wife of Marcian, 48, 49, 55, 61, 62, 63, 85

Rice, David Talbot, 179, 184
Robert de Clari, 220
Romanus I Lecapenus, emperor, 178–80
Romanus II, emperor, 187, 188, 189
Romanus III Agyrus, emperor, 96, 124, 125, 191, 192
Romanus IV Diogenes, emperor, 200
Rotunda, palace of Romanus I, 180, 181, 184–6

St. George of the Mangana, church of, 195, 196–8, 317
St. John Chrysostom, patriarch, 31, 32, 47, 119, 257
St. John in Trullo, church of (Hirami Ahmet Paşa Camii), 227–9
St. John of Studius, church of (Imrahor Camii), 2, 65–72, 251
St. Polyeuctus, church of, 75–79, 113–14, 216
St. Theodore the Studite, 66, 67
SS. Sergius and Bacchus, church of (Küçük Aya Sofya Camii), 2, 82, 113–14, 129–31, 132, 134, 135–6
Sancaktar Mescidi, 35, 290
Schafer, Hartmut, 222–3, 224
Schneider, Alfons Maria, 48, 56, 57, 98, 221, 226
Sea Walls, 164–5, 298
Selim II, sultan, 97
Senate House on the Augoustaion, 31, 47
Septimius Severus, emperor, 12, 13, 18
Sigismund, King of Hungary, 281
Sinan the Architect, 97, 106
Sinan Paşa Mescidi, 284
Sophia, empress, wife of Justin II, 154–5
Sphrantzes, George, 225, 294, 295
Stoa Basilica, 31
Striker, Cecil L., 179, 184, 235, 237, 242, 243
Süleyman the Magnificent, sultan, 15
Symeon, grand duke of Moscow, 279
Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi, 220

Tekfursarayı (Palace of the Porphyrogenitus, 252, 253–5, 298
Theodora, empress, wife of Justinian I, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 129, 130, 131, 140, 154
Theodora, empress, wife of Theophilus, 105, 162, 165, 166, 167
Theodora, empress, wife of Michael VIII, 175, 176, 177, 251, 255
Theodora, empress, daughter of Constantine VIII, 190, 191, 193, 194, 214, 216–7
Theodora Raoulina, princess, 259
Theodore I Lascaris, emperor, 249
Theodore II Lascaris, emperor, 249
Theodosian Walls, 3, 49–5, 154, 156, 160, 254, 269–70, 271, 282, 294, 295, 296
Theodosius I, emperor, 18, 31–2, 38, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 61, 75
Theodosius II, emperor, 3, 26, 44, 47, 48, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61, 63, 75
Theodosius III, emperor, 159
Theophano, empress, wife of Romanus II and Nicephorus II, 187–9, 190
Theophilus, emperor, 109, 162, 163, 165, 189
Theotokos in Chalkoprateia, church of the, 62–3
Theotokos Peribleptos, church of the, 192–3, 201
Thomas Palaeologus, brother of Constantine XI, 283, 293
Tiberius I, emperor, 154, 155

Ulubatlı Hasan, 296
Underwood, Paul A., 271
Urban V, pope, 280

Valens, emperor, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 236
Valentinian I, emperor of the West, 39, 40
Valentinian II, emperor of the West, 41, 43
Valentinian III, emperor of the West, 49
Van Millingen, Alexander, 70, 135, 207, 253, 285, 288, 289, 290
Varangarian guards, 190
Verina, empress, wife of Leo I, 65, 66
Via Egnatia, 11, 27–8
Vigilius, pope, 147
Vladimir, prince of Kiev, 190

Wall of Herclius, 156–7
Wall of Leo V, 161
Wall of Manuel I Comnenus, 231–33
Wall of Nicephorus II Phocas, 188–90
Whittemore, Thomas, 97

Xenophon, 28
Xerxes, Persian king, 8, 9

Yedikule, 44

Zeno, emperor, 31, 65, 71–2
Zoe, empress, daughter of Constantine VIII, 124–25, 191, 192, 193, 194, 213, 214
Zoe Carbonopsina, empress, wife of Leo VI, 174, 178
Zoodochos Pege, shrine of the Virgin, 53, 85
Zosimus, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 37, 40